THE RUNIC ROODS
OF
RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE
BY
J. K. NEWMAN

726.9509428

DISCARDED

THE RUNIC ROODS
OF
RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE

BIRMINGHAM
REFERENCE LIBRARY
PUBLIC LIBRARIES

All Rights Reserved

RUTHWELL CROSS, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.

Frontispiece.

BIRMINGHAM REFERENCE LIBRARY

THE RUNIC ROODS

OF

RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE

WITH A

SHORT HISTORY OF THE CROSS

AND

CRUCIFIX IN SCOTLAND

BY

JAMES KING HEWISON

M.A., D.D. (EDIN.); FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF SCOTLAND
EDITOR OF THE WORKS OF NINIAN WINZET;
AUTHOR OF "THE ISLE OF BUTE IN THE OLDEN TIME," "THE COVENANTERS,"
"THE COUNTY GEOGRAPHY OF DUMFRIESSHIRE," ETC.

GLASGOW: JOHN SMITH & SON, LTD.
1914

BIRMINGHAM REFERENCE LIBRARY PUBLIC LIBRARIES

258204

DEDICATED

TO

JOHN CUNINGHAME MONTGOMERIE

ESQUIRE OF DALMORE

COMPANION DURING MANY PILGRIMAGES

TO THE RUNIC ROODS OF

RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE

PREFACE

VENERATION for the Runic Roods and a grateful interest in my native shire of Dumfries have impelled me to write this history of the stately Cross of Ruthwell, now re-erected within the Parish Church of Ruthwell, in the county of Dumfries, and to conjoin with it an account of the twin pillar which adorns the parish churchyard of Bewcastle, in Cumberland.

The superb photographs of these two remarkable monuments which embellish this volume are the artistic work and the gift of Mr J. C. Montgomerie of Dalmore. To him, not the present writer only, but every subsequent student in this subject, will be under the deepest obligations for his infinite trouble in procuring such masterpieces. I wish to thank Mr Rutherford of Jardington for the use of an early photograph of Ruthwell Cross while it stood in the open air; Sir David Prain, Kew, for assistance in endeavouring to name the flowers carved upon both monuments; G. N. Count Plunkett, F.S.A., Vice-President of the Royal Academy, Dublin; Rev. George Yorke, formerly Rector of Bewcastle; and the Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie, M.A., Parish Minister of Ruthwell, for many facilities granted for personal examination of the crosses under their charge; the Dean and Chapter of Durham for the use of illustrations of relics in the Cathedral Library; Messrs W. & R. Chambers, Ltd., for permission to reproduce from *Chambers's Encyclopædia* Canon Taylor's table of runes on Bewcastle Cross; Mr H. D. Hood, Melrose, and Mr John Gibson, Hexham, for the use of photographs; Mr John Taylor, Dublin, Mr J. W. Dods, Dumfries, the Misses Montgomerie, Dalmore, and Mrs Dinwiddie, Ruthwell, for kind help frequently given in these studies.

To the Rev. Joseph Traill, B.D., Rothesay, I am much indebted for reading the manuscript and proofs, and for many valuable suggestions.

Study for this book has given me an exquisite pleasure on account of the fact that, through the courtesy of librarians in London, Oxford, Lambeth, and Dublin, I was permitted to handle and consult such precious Anglo-Saxon, Hiberno-Saxon, and other MSS. as *The Lindisfarne Gospels*, *The Alcuin Bible*, *The MacRegol Gospels*, *The MacDurnan Gospels*, *King Æthelstan's Psalter*, *Queen Margaret's Gospel-Book*, *The Book of Durrow*, and other library treasures.

JAMES KING HEWISON.

Rothesay, *February* 1914.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

PAGE

INTRODUCTORY—A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CROSS AND CRUCIFIX IN SCOTLAND 1

CHAPTER II

SITES: TRADITIONS: EMERGENCE INTO HISTORY 10

Location of Rune-inscribed monuments at Ruthwell and Bewcastle. Traditions: Emergence into history of Ruthwell Cross; its demolition; restoration as an "ancient monument." Emergence into history of Bewcastle Obelisk.

CHAPTER III

DESCRIPTIONS OF RUTHWELL CROSS AND OF BEWCASTLE OBELISK OR CROSS . 28

I. Description of Ruthwell Cross; measurements, description of panels, sculpture, Latin and Runic inscriptions; the wheel-head; Sandstone.

II. Description of Bewcastle Obelisk; measurements, description of panels, sculpture, Runic inscriptions; Sandstone.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSCRIPTIONS 48

I. The Latin-Saxon Letters.

II. The Runes. Anglian, Manx, Hibernian Runes, etc.

1. The Runes on Ruthwell Cross. Disputed Runes on the cross-head. The Cædmon reading. Kemble's reference to "The Dream of the Rood." The Dialect.
2. The Runes on Bewcastle Obelisk. The lost cross-head and its Runes. Various readings, and result of comparison. The historical personages alleged to be commemorated.

CHAPTER V

THE SCULPTURE ON BOTH MONUMENTS 77

1. Geometric patterns.
2. Interlaced patterns.
3. Foliaceous sculpture.
4. Figure sculpture.

CHAPTER VI

SYMBOLS AND DOCTRINE 93

1. The Cross. First cross in Northumbria; the crosses of St Cuthbert, Æthelweald, and Acca; the wheel-head cross.
2. The Crucifix. Earliest representations; the permissive edicts; the orbs.
3. The Vine.
4. The Falconer and Hawk: the birds. The eagle and the phœnix emblems.
5. The Sacred Birds on Ruthwell Cross.
6. The Archer. A sky-god; Mithraic cult; symbol of light; zodiacal sign for December; late idolatry on the Borders.
7. The Christ.
8. Anointing the Lord's feet.
9. John the Baptist.
10. St Cuthbert.
11. The Nativity.
12. The Annunciation.
13. The Visitation.
14. The Shoes.
15. The Flight into Egypt.
16. Healing of Blind Man.
17. St. Matthew's symbol.
18. St Paul and St Anthony.
19. The Sun-dial.

CHAPTER VII

PAGE

EARLY ART IN NORTHUMBRIA 127

CHAPTER VIII

THE DATES ASSIGNABLE TO THE RUNIC ROODS 139

Opinions of earliest writers; of later authorities for a seventh-century origin; Rivoira's preference for the twelfth century; Cook's reference of the Ruthwell Cross to the twelfth century. THE RAISON D'ÊTRE OF THE MONUMENTS. Possible connection with St Cuthbert in the later day of his cult, *i.e.* in the historic age of King Æthelstan and of St Dunstan in the tenth century. Improbable connection with "Alchfrith." No motive for King David I. of Scotland erecting these crosses. Peace memorials. The Benedictine revival. The latest views of authorities—Professors Cook and Lethaby, Sir Martin Conway, and Mr Collingwood.

CHAPTER IX

"THE DREAM OF THE ROOD" 154

The Anglo-Saxon text: A Metrical Translation.

APPENDIX I

PLACE-NAMES—RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE 164

APPENDIX II

THE MYSTERIOUS CYNEWULF 167

APPENDIX III

ANGLIAN AND ANGLO-DANISH SCULPTURE 169

APPENDIX IV

WEIGHT OF THE MONUMENTS 173

INDEX 174

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATE

I. Ruthwell Cross, from the South-East. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.* *Frontispiece*

TO FACE PAGE

II. Celtic Crosses in Bute 4

III. Ruthwell Parish Church—(1) front view, *Photograph by J. K. Hewison*; (2) apse, north side, *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* 10

IV. Bewcastle Parish Church, Camp, Castle. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . 14

V. Portraits of (1) Nicolson; (2) Duncan; (3) St Cuthbert; (4) M'Farlan; (5) St Dunstan 18

VI. (1–4) Gordon's Illustrations of Ruthwell Cross; (5–8) Cardonnel's Illustrations of Ruthwell Cross 24

VII. Ruthwell Cross, as re-erected by the Rev. Dr Duncan. *Photograph by Mr J. Rutherford* 28

VIII. (1) Menhir at Dol; (2) Hickes' Illustration; (3) Crucifix of Charlemagne; (4) Vietor's Illustration 32

IX. Cotton's Letter to Camden, *Photograph lent by Rev. Dr Wilson, Dalston*; (2 and 3) Smith's Illustrations of Bewcastle Obelisk 36

X. Bewcastle Cross or Obelisk, West face. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . 42

XI. Readings of Bewcastle Runes—(1) Smith; (2) Howard; (3) Lysons; (4) Lysons 48

XII. Readings of Bewcastle Runes—(1) Maughan; (2) Haigh; (3) Taylor; (4) Collingwood 52

XIII. Ruthwell Cross, South face. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . . 58

XIV. Ruthwell Cross, four faces. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . . 64

XV. The Christ on Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses. *Photographs by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* 70

XVI. Ruthwell Cross, from South-West. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.* . 76

XVII. Bewcastle Obelisk, from South-West. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . 82

XVIII. Bewcastle Obelisk, from South-West. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . 88

PLATE TO FACE PAGE

XIX. Bewcastle Obelisk, East face. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . . 92

XX. Bewcastle Obelisk, North face. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . . 96

XXI. (1) Runic Alphabets, St Gall; (2 and 4) Spital Cross, Hexham, *Photograph by Mr John Gibson*; (3) Photograph of Bewcastle Runes, *Photograph from Cast by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* 104

XXII. Table exhibiting various Readings of the Runes on Bewcastle Obelisk. *Drawn by J. K. Hewison* 110

XXIII. "Cyniburug," *Photograph from Cast by Mr J. C. Montgomerie*; (2) Langbar Rocks, *Photograph by J. K. Hewison*; (3) Bewcastle Obelisk, *Photograph by Miss Isa Montgomerie*; (4) Bewcastle Obelisk, *Photograph by Miss Mary Montgomerie*; (5) Workmen and Cast, *Photograph by Miss Isa Montgomerie* . . 114

XXIV. Reconstruction of Ruthwell Cross. *Designed by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . . 118

XXV. (1) Ruthwell Cross, Crucifixion Scene; (2) the Baptists on both Monuments (A, Bewcastle; B, Ruthwell); (4) Upper part of Ruthwell Cross, *Photographs by Mr J. C. Montgomerie*; (3) Horus upon the Crocodiles . . . 122

XXVI. Bewcastle Obelisk, from North-West. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . 128

XXVII. Bewcastle Obelisk, from North-East. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . 132

XXVIII. Bewcastle—Landscape. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie* . . . 138

XXIX. (1) Acca's Cross; (2) St Cuthbert's Coffin. *Illustrations lent by the Dean and Chapter, Durham*. 144

XXX. Northumbrian Crosses. *Illustrations lent by the Dean and Chapter, Durham* . 152

ERRATUM

P. 65, line 15, *for* Oswining *read* Oswiuing.

ADDENDA

Pp. 35, line 21, 42, line 14, 111, line 4, *add* Pl. XV.

THE RUNIC ROODS
OF
RUTHWELL AND BEWCASTLE

CHAPTER I

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CROSS AND CRUCIFIX IN SCOTLAND

The Cross and Crucifix are signs and symbols, among many others, which represent the Founder of the Christian religion, and also pictorially emphasise the cardinal fact or doctrine of that faith, namely, the sacrificial death of the Lord Jesus Christ. These are not the earliest symbols exhibited in Christology, but the cross is of earlier use than the crucifix. A cross is a simple gibbet; a crucifix is a cross bearing or exhibiting upon it a figure of the living or dead body of a human being, notably the Saviour, during His Crucifixion: a crosier, or crozier, originally signifying a cross-bearer, or bearer of the bishop's crook or pastoral staff, came to signify the episcopal staff itself, and to be, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, misapplied to the cross of an archbishop. Other symbols representing the Redeemer, several of which are found on early sculptured stones in Scotland, were Orpheus, the Good Shepherd, a vine, a lamb, a fish, a fisher, a lion, a unicorn, the Chi-Rho, the Swastika—also called the fylfot, gammadion, Buddhist cross,—and the chalice.[1]

The early Christians could not always use a material example of the cross, the display of which would have involved them in peril in the hot times of persecution. But they made an intangible sign of the cross, as Tertullian records: "In whatever occupation we are engaged we imprint

[1] Damasus, *Carm.*, vi.:

"Virga, Columna, Manus, Petra, . . .
Vinea, Pastor, Ovis, Pax, Radix, Vitis, Oliva,
Fons, Paries, Agnus, Vitulus, Leo, . . .
Rete, Lapis, Domus, omnia Christus Jesus."

our foreheads with the sign of the cross." From time immemorial the cross has been a reverend emblem, of widespread use, with a range at least from Thibet to Mexico. The studies of Mortillet, among the funerary relics of the aborigines of Lombardy, led him to conclude that in the remotest antiquity before the time of Christ, the cross was the sacred emblem of a religious sect which abhorred idolatry.[1] Christians made use of the pagan sign because it perfectly represented the paramount fact of their faith, while later the crucifix became distinctive of Christianity.

The ancient Egyptians had for an emblem of salvation a cross with a looped head, called the *ankh* (*i.e.* life), or *crux ansata*. This symbol has been found as far north as Nigg, Ross-shire, and as far west as Ardboe in Ireland. Another form of the pre-Christian cross is that known as the *Chi-Rho* or "Monogram of Christ," adopted from the Græco-Bactrian Labarum, used and authorised by Constantine, and hence called "Constantine's Cross." The *Rho* attachment has been traced to the lock of hair of the Egyptian god Horus the younger. Mortillet found this monogram, but without the *Rho* attachment, imprinted on a vase discovered in Golasecca (Lombardy) which he dated one thousand years before Christ.[2] Two specimens of this cross, in its Coptic (Greek) form, appear on Christian tombstones at Kirkmadrine, in Wigtownshire ; and another example was discovered in Whithorn Priory. The Swastika is cut on an early Celtic cross in North Bute.

The history of the cross in Scotland is simply the story of Scottish Christianity.[3] The Christian religion could arrive in Caledonia through the same channels as Oriental mythologies came—the religion of Greece and the cult of Mithra—by means of Roman soldiery, disciples from Syria, missionaries from Egypt, or Levantine merchants. The exact period when the first report of Jesus was here believed cannot be determined. The Church in Britain, however, was organised before the Romans withdrew from the country ; and of the three British bishops who attended the Synod at Arles in 314, one hailed from York. Consequently one must look to the north beyond the Roman Wall and to the wilds of Wales for those unexplored Christian regions of which Tertullian (208) wrote : "In districts of Britain

[1] Gabriel De Mortillet, *Le Signe de la Croix avant le Christianisme*, Paris, 1886, 174 ; H. D. Ward, *History of the Cross, the pagan origin*, etc., London, 1871, *q.v.*

[2] Mortillet, *Le Signe*, etc., 126.

[3] J. Romilly Allen and Dr Joseph Anderson, *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, Edinburgh, 1903 ; Dr John Stuart, *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland* (Spalding Club), Edinburgh, 1867 ; Dr Joseph Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*.

inaccessible to the Romans, but subdued to Christ, in all these, the kingdom and name of Christ are venerated." Origen (239) also refers to the partial Christianisation of the Britons. It is therefore certain that long before the time of Pelagius (400), Ninian (432), Palladius (432), and Patrick (493) Christianity was a power in Britain, and the cross was in evidence. The monuments to Christian priests at Kirkmadrine and Whithorn, already referred to, are associated with the mission of St Ninian in the fifth century. Crosses within circles are incised on rude stone pillars of indurated schist, and evidently indicate the faith of the persons interred beneath them (Pl. II. fig. 1). In character these signs resemble those found by Burton and Drake in unexplored Syria.[1] In the case of another gravestone found in Whithorn Priory (No. 1), where the Greek form of the *cross patée*, with the *Rho* attached to the point of a curved arm, is incised within a circle surrounded by a concentric circle, the face of the slab bears an inscription: "LOC STI PETRI APUSTOLI," indicating that Peter, an apostle, rested there.[2] Undressed slabs and boulders, without inscriptions, but incised with crosses in various forms, were common memorials in the early Church (Pl. II. fig. 3). Stones formerly used in pagan rites were by the visible sign of the cross consecrated for Christian service. On monoliths of a great height crosses were elevated and fixed. Menhirs in Brittany are still surmounted by wooden crosses. On some stones crucifixes are reared and fixed. These rude standing stones, which may have been sepulchral monuments, memorial marks, or boundary stones, had the cross as a protective talisman incised upon them.

Stones were also quarried and dressed to form slabs whereon crosses were incised, frequently on one face only. One face of a slab was ornamented with a design exhibiting one great cross, or with sculpture in which one cross, or a series of small crosses, appeared. The stone was also shaped like a cross. The use of interlaced work in the early Church tended to the multiplication of beautiful varieties of the form of the cross, many examples of which are preserved in Scotland. Free-standing, upright crosses were fixed in earth or raised on stone bases—square, truncated, semicircular,

[1] Richard F. Burton and C. F. T. Drake, *Unexplored Syria*, London, 1892, ii. 2, 3, plates 28, 29, 46, 94.

[2] The oval seal of Whithorn Priory bears a Paschal Lamb carrying a holy banner, the staff of which terminates in a cross with a crescent on the dexter side, and an estoile six-rayed on the sinister. The Lamb is bleeding from the throat into a chalice which receives the stream of blood. At the base is a fleur-de-lys with a three-leaved branch on each side. The inscription reads: "S. Conventus Candidæ Casæ."

stepped, in human form; and in Iona and Bute crosses were fixed in disused millstones.

Crosses are of two kinds—simple and compact or fabricated. The simple cross is a tree-trunk, *arbor*, *lignum*, *palus*, *σταυρὸς*, A.S. *ród*, rood, on which the victim was tied, nailed, impaled, or perforated.[1] The wooden stake renewed on Solway shore in memory of the Wigtown Martyrs fitly represents this gibbet. The victim was often fixed to a movable framework, *patibulum*, which was lifted and set into a tree with a bifurcation or slit (Pl. II. fig. 2). What may be a representation of this portable instrument of torture is inscribed on a stone in St Blane's churchyard, Bute. An upright monolith inscribed with a cross was reckoned as a cross.

The compact cross, *crux compacta*, or constructed gibbet, was of several varieties: 1, *crux decussata*, *Andreana*, or Burgundian; 2, *crux commissa*, *crux ansata*; 3, *crux immissa*, *capitata*, or Latin cross. The first-named cross, X, associated with St Andrew, was a favourite in Scotland, and remains on the national flag.[2] The second, in its form of the letter T, is called the Tau cross, or St Anthony's cross, because it is said to have been embroidered on the cope of that saint, or to represent the hermit's crutch. When the Tau cross is surmounted by an oval or circular loop, like the Egyptian *ankh*, it is called the *crux ansata*, or cross with a handle. The third form of cross, *crux immissa*, *capitata*, or Latin cross, has a head above the transom, and a long shaft, †. When shaft, head, and each arm are of the same length the cross is known as the Greek cross, +. The Latin cross is also known as the cross of Crucifixion, Calvary cross, and Passion cross. Hence it has a double cross-piece to represent the board on which the superscription was fixed. There are above twenty varieties of the *crux immissa*. The varieties of cross used by early sculptors and heralds are very numerous and beautiful, and passing reference can only be made to the pall-cross, like the letter Y, cross of Jerusalem, Maltese cross, cross of St James, Capuchin cross, St Catherine's wheel, and the cross *patée* or *formée*, *patonce*, *potent*, *flory*, *pommé croslet*, *budding*. Sculptors had a simple method of producing a cross on a slab by cutting four oval or round holes at each corner of an imaginary square, and this cross formée was much in vogue in the early Celtic Church.

[1] Justi Lipsi, *De Cruce, Libri Tres*, Antverpiæ, MDXCV., with illustrations.

[2] The three crosses combined on the British imperial flag are the Scottish cross of St Andrew—a plain diagonal white cross on a blue ground, the English cross of St George—a plain red Latin cross on a white ground, and the Irish cross of St Patrick—a plain diagonal red cross on a white ground. Cf. *Acta Parl. Scot.*, 1654, c. 131, viii. 386; 1707, xi. 406*b*.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 7.

Celtic Crosses in Bute.
From drawings by J. K. Hewison.

To face page 4

The use of the wheel in sun-worship and of the nimbus may have suggested the wheel-headed cross, with and without a short shaft, which was set upright and free-standing (Pl. II. figs, 4, 5). At first the head was solid. Four round or oval holes were carved through the wheel; and beautifully ornamented crosses of the type of St Martin's, Iona, and Kildalton in Islay were the result. Sometimes the circular arms were not of a piece with the body of the upright cross, but were inset in sockets, as in the example preserved in Rothesay (Pl. II. fig. 6). A mortise on the top of Bewcastle obelisk indicates that the head was fixed into the shaft. Cross slabs and free-standing crosses were ornamented with designs other than the cross. These designs were of four kinds, namely, symbols, ornaments, figure subjects, and inscriptions. Some symbols remain unexplained. The ornaments are geometrical (plait-work, key-pattern, step, spiral), zoomorphic, and foliaceous. The figure subjects are historic, mythological, and scriptural. Inscriptions in Latin, Ogham, Runic, and Saxon characters remain.

The cross entered into the whole life of the people, and was in constant evidence. Crosses, plain and ornate, were erected everywhere—at preaching sites, on the arrival of the missionary; in the church, to symbolise the Divine Founder; on the church and in the churchyard, to declare their sacred character; in the market-place, to draw the wondering eye where business was associated with religion; on scenes of memorable events; at fords and on highways, where safety inspired thanksgiving; at boundaries, where men remembered the rights of others:

> "Into Stanemure ane cors of stane was set,
> Quhair the marches of thir twa kingis met." [1]

The new-born babe was "sained" with the sign of the cross, and the aged was laid to rest under the shadow of this emblem of salvation. Mention must also be made of the beautiful little pectoral crosses, made of gold, silver, and bronze, worn by the faithful, such as the gold Greek cross found among the bones and beneath the vestments of St Cuthbert.

There are more than 500 sculptured stones in Scotland associated with the cross. Of these, 44 are complete cross-slabs incised with crosses, 32 are formed as crosses, over 20 are broken cross-slabs, and over 100 are broken cross-shaped slabs. Of erect wheel-crosses 7 are complete; there are 10

[1] Stewart, *Cron. Scot.*, ii. 677.

shafts and 2 heads. There are 13 complete erect crosses, 20 shafts of crosses, and 17 heads.

In Adamnan's Life of St Columba we find particulars of usages in the Church of Iona in regard to the cross. The statement that 360 crosses existed in Iona, and that 60 of them were thrown into the sea by order of the Synod of Argyll, cannot be substantiated.[1] That Celtic religious centres possessed numerous crosses is proved by the Dialogue of Columba and Cormac in Hy, which declares :

> " O Cormac, beautiful is thy church
> With its books, its learning—
> A devout city with a hundred crosses." [2]

Then it was customary to bless, or " sain," every object or undertaking with the sign of the cross, this being the *signum salutare*. The church edifice was inscribed with a dedicatory cross or crosses. The caves of St Ninian and St Medan in Wigtownshire exhibit incised circles containing crosses and other Christian emblems. The home, well, tool, even the butcher's knife, the milk-pail, and other objects were blessed with this sign, which these early Celtic Christians believed could banish demons, check monsters, unlock doors, give healing virtues to pebbles, and render all enterprises safe. The scenes of great events were marked by the *vexillum crucis*.[3] A Celtic church was rectangular in form. The Oriental ecclesiastics introduced the cruciform design of sacred buildings, and later, in Britain, several churches were designated by the name of the cross—Holy Rood and St Cross. The Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem, and the church over Jacob's Well, are cruciform.

One of the most famous crosses held in veneration in Scotland was the Holy Rood, or Black Rood of Scotland. Queen Margaret brought it with her from England. A piece of the true cross was enshrined within a gold casket shaped like a cross. It was kept in the Treasury in Edinburgh Castle in 1291, but was captured and removed by King Edward I. It was with King Edward at his death, being inventoried as " the cross of St Elene of Scotland." It was restored to the Scots, but was retaken from the person of King David II. at Neville's Cross in 1346. It was then placed in the shrine of St Cuthbert in Durham, where it remained till it disappeared about 1546.[4]

[1] Pennant, *Tour*, iii. 251, citing Sacheverell.

[2] Reeves, *Vita S. Columbæ*, 269.

[3] *Ibid.*, 125, 126, 127, 141, 147, 151, 231.

[4] George Watson, "The Black Rood of Scotland," *Trans. Scot. Eccl. Soc.*, ii. pt. i., 1906–7, 27–46.

Queen Margaret also placed in the Church of the Holy Trinity in Dunfermline "a cross of priceless value bearing the figure of our Saviour, which she had caused to be covered with the purest gold and silver, with gems standing out conspicuously here and there." [1]

Altar crosses or processional crosses, like the Cross of Cong, still in existence, and the Great Cross of Columcille, which was sent by Pope Gregory to Iona in 590, were cased in metal and adorned with crystal bosses or gems. The Cross of Cong "is formed of oak encased with copper plates and enriched with interlaced ornaments of gilt bronze; the sides are framed in silver, the whole being held together by nails ornamented with little heads of animals." [2] The cross terminates in an ornamental socket, wherein a pole for carrying the cross was inserted. A portable cross of a different character was the Fiery Cross, the Crostarie, *Crann-Tara* or *Crois-Tara*. This was the symbol used by Highland chieftains. Sir Walter Scott thus describes it :—

> "The grisly priest, with murmuring prayer,
> A slender crosslet formed with care,
> A cubit's length in measure due;
> The shaft and limbs were rods of yew."

The extremities were burned by fire and extinguished in the blood of a goat. The cross was carried by runners, who handed it on to each other throughout a chieftainry as a call to arms.

The crucifix, whose introduction into Scotland cannot be easily traced, never became a popular emblem there, else a larger number of examples, carved in stone or fabricated in metal or wood, would have been preserved. A representation of the Crucifixion is carved upon the round tower of Brechin, and appears on the later seal of the Cathedral Chapter.[3] A similar representation is displayed upon a font of the Church of St Malrube, Loch Aoineard, Skye, now preserved in the National Museum of Antiquities in Edinburgh. The Quigrich of St Fillan also bears a crucifix. Only a few small antique crucifixes have been found in Scotland.[4] Crucifixes such as those found on the bodies of Charlemagne and Queen Dagmar are of much later date (Pl. VIII. fig. 3).

[1] *Vita S. Margaretæ*, Symeon, i. 239 (Surtees Soc.).

[2] G. Coffey, *Guide R. Irish Acad. Coll.*, Dublin, 1910, 56.

[3] Mr Robert Brydal considers the carving on the Celtic tower of Brechin to be of tenth or eleventh century workmanship: *Art in Scotland*, Edin., 1889, 8.

[4] *Catal. Mus. Antiq.*, 285, 287, 288, 290, 291.

There are not more than ten representations of the Crucifixion carved upon early crosses now preserved in Scotland. The crucifix upon Ruthwell Cross will be afterwards described. The Camuston Cross, near Carnoustie, has rude figure carvings, with Christ on the Cross in relief, and with the figures of two persons below the cross. On the reverse, Christ appears in glory. A fragment of Kingoldrum Cross indicates a rude crucifix. The same may be said of the crosses of Monifieth, Strathmartine, and Lasswade. The cross of Kirkapol, Tiree, has a figure of Christ, in kilt-like tunic, upon a Tau cross from which rise two leaf-covered branches, while two figures stand beneath the cross. A cross-slab of greywacke found at Kirkcolm, Kirkcudbrightshire, measuring 64 inches in height, 21 in breadth, and 3 in thickness, displays a crucified Christ carved very inartistically. Another slab, preserved in Carstairs Church, 6 feet in height, exhibits a dead Christ upon the Cross, but an inscription in Saxon capitals suggests a somewhat late date for this memorial. Dr John Stuart has given delineations of six crosses in the West Highlands displaying crucifixes, and some accompanied with the usual figures—those of Kilkerran, Kilmichael-Glassary, Kilchoman, Kilmorie, Oransay, and Maclean's Cross in Iona.[1] None of these are of the earliest type.

At the Reformation crosses and crucifixes were thrown down or destroyed, except in the remote Highlands, where some exquisite specimens, such as those of Kildalton, Campbeltown, Inveraray, etc., were preserved, and in sequestered districts under the patronage of powerful Catholic landowners, as in Ruthwell. Not only did the Reformed Church enjoin the demolition of idolatrous monuments, but the Scots Parliament in 1581 forbade pilgrimages to popular crosses and shrines, and in 1656 passed an Act abjuring the worship of crucifixes. Market crosses, probably defaced, were allowed to stand.[2] In the Covenanting age new market crosses, such as that in Moniaive (1685), were plain shafts surmounted by a ball or other ornamental finial. The religious symbols were discarded. The finial of the elegant and imposing cross at Thornhill, Dumfriesshire (1710), consists of a bronze Pegasus. One of the most handsome restorations of a public cross in Scotland is that of Dunedin's ancient "pillared stone," on the High Street of Edinburgh, carried out by Mr Gladstone. In recent years the Celtic cross, with its elaborate interlaced ornamentation, has been greatly in demand

[1] *The Sculpt. Stones of Scot.*, ii., pls. xxxiii., xxxviii., xlii., lii., liv., lviii., lxvi.
[2] John W. Small, *Scottish Market Crosses*, Stirling, 1900.

for sepulchral memorials. While in Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches in Scotland crosses and crucifixes are much in evidence, both within and upon these edifices, they now are also distinctive ornaments upon Presbyterian churches, and are often seen within these sacred buildings and in stained-glass windows as conventional ornaments.

CHAPTER II

SITES: TRADITIONS: EMERGENCE INTO HISTORY

In the Borderland, between England and Scotland, stand two magnificent rune-inscribed High-Crosses, the one being preserved in Ruthwell Parish Church, Dumfriesshire, and the other standing in the parish churchyard of Bewcastle, Cumberland. Ruthwell Church is situated thirty miles from Bewcastle Church, in an almost westerly direction, and twenty-one miles from Carlisle, which lies to the south-east [1] (Pl. III. fig. 1). Bewcastle Church stands about sixteen miles north-east of Carlisle, and six miles from the Roman Wall [2] (Pl. IV.). The Church and Manse of Ruthwell are placed on the green verge by the Solway, and two miles distant from high-water mark. Bewcastle Church, high on the rolling uplands of Cumberland, occupies a commanding site within a great hexagonal Roman camp, whose name is uncertain, and west of the sullen tract of Spadeadam Waste. Both churches had dedications to St Cuthbert, the apostle of North-humberland, whose body, on its enforced perambulation, may have rested in them. In Roman times the districts of Ruthwell and Bewcastle were inhabited by Selgovæ and Brigantes; in British times they were included in Strathclyde and Cumbria; in English times they were in Northumbria under Oswiu and his successors (655–945), and later, from 945, in the Scottish, or northern, district of Cumbria.

For what purpose, when, and by whom were two such superb works of Christian art erected in so sequestered a spot as Bewcastle and in so unlikely a place as Ruthwell, are questions which long have puzzled antiquaries and historians. It is self-evident that the circumstances and events which inspired the creation of these crosses must be shown to be adequately in keeping with the grandeur of the objects consecrated for their remembrance, and with the sublime ideas pictorially expressed upon these memorials.

[1] Ruthwell Station on G. & S.W. Railway.

[2] Brampton, Low Row, and Gilsland on Newcastle and Carlisle Railway are nearest points on railway.

FIG. 1. Ruthwell Parish Church : Front View.
Photograph by J. K. Hewison.

FIG. 2. Ruthwell Parish Church, showing the Apse for the Cross : from the North-West.
Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 10.

The most memorable events occurring in this region between the time of the evacuation of the Romans and the cession of Cumbria to the Scots in 945 were the Christian victory at Ardderyd (Arthuret) in 573, the missionary movement of St Cuthbert (665–687), whose diocese extended from the North Sea to the Solway, the episcopal activity of St Wilfrith (634–709), the ravages of the Danes and Northmen, and the successful expeditions of King Æthelstan. The results of the latter were the Peace of Eâmôt after Æthelstan in 926 subjugated four kings who "renounced every kind of idolatry" there ;[1] the defeat in 937 by Æthelstan of Kings Olaf and Constantine with their allies at Brunanburh, now happily identified as Burnswark,[2] nine miles from Ruthwell; and the baptism in 943 of the conquered pagan King Olaf Kuaran of Dublin, son-in-law of Constantine, King of Scots. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "in the same year (943), after a good long interval he (King Eadmund) received King Ragnald at the bishop's hand. In this year King Eadmund delivered Glastonbury to St Dunstan, where he afterwards first became abbot."[3] This reception of two pagan kings of the famed Hy Ivar of Dublin into the Church in Northumbria at one period must have created no small sensation. But another epoch-making event that year, at least according to England's greatest genius living then—St Dunstan,—was the birth of Prince Edgar—tantamount to the birth of England's peace.[4] Still another important event is recorded in 945 : "In this year King Eadmund harried over all Cumberland, and gave it all up to Malcolm, King of Scots."[5] In Saxon times Luel, *Luguballium*, now Carlisle, was a town of some importance. It was in the diocese of St Cuthbert, and thither he came to found monastic houses, equip schools, and direct other Christian institutions. There Queen Ermenburga took the veil from the saint's hands. For two centuries at least Carlisle was an influential centre. Its abbot, Eadred, surnamed Lulisc, fled in 883 to join the pilgrims with St Cuthbert's body. Thereafter the early history of Carlisle for two centuries is lost. The building of the great churches at Ripon and Hexham by St Wilfrith, Bishop of Northumbria, in the seventh century, was a work of first importance,

[1] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 85. William of Malmesbury identified Eâmôt as Dacor. Might it not be Bewcastle ?

[2] *Scott. Hist. Rev.*, vii. No. 25, 37–55.

[3] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 89, 90. Ragnald of York was joint-king in Northumbria with Olaf Kuaran († 981).

[4] *Memorials of St Dunstan* (*Vita Adelardo*), 56, Stubbs' edit.

[5] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 90 ; Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, cap. iii., iv.

but it is now difficult to determine how far north the influence of his skilled artificers, native or foreign, extended.[1]

In view of all these facts the latest authority, Professor Albert S. Cook, of Yale University, thinks that the period of the reign of King David I. of Scotland (1107–1153) is by far the most important epoch in which to look for " the power which enabled and suggested the production " of these crosses in Scottish Cumbria, where Prince David ruled from 1107 till 1124, when he became King of Scotland.[2] Various dates have been assigned for these monuments, the commonly accepted opinion being that they were produced in the last quarter of the seventh century ; but this monograph will give reasons for the belief that about the middle of the tenth century there were national circumstances calculated to inspire the erection of these peace memorials in the ancient diocese of St Cuthbert, and that the handiwork and ideographs displayed on the crosses are most in harmony with the Anglian culture of the tenth century.

Traditions

Tradition in Bewcastle asserts that a king is buried near the obelisk, and that the stone of which his memorial was made was brought from the Langbar Rocks, above White Lyne Common, over five miles from the church.[3] Tradition in Ruthwell is more romantic, and, according to it, Ruthwell Cross was transported by sea, shipwrecked, and cast ashore, being afterwards found, inscribed and entire, in a quarry called the Rough Scarr. As a result of a peasant's dream it was dragged out and away by oxen, till the tackle broke, as Heaven had ordained, at the spot where the cross was elevated, and over which a church was erected. Another tradition made it be transported by angels and grow within the church till it touched the roof.[4]

A. Ruthwell Cross—Emergence into History

The Reformed Church in Scotland did " not cease to requyre idolatrie with all monumentis and places of the same . . . to be utterlie suppressed," an edict which was largely disregarded in the Highlands. The Aberdeen Assembly, on 29th July 1640, passed an " Act anent the demolishing of

[1] G. F. Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, Lond., 1897 (S.P.C.K.), 98, 106, 124.

[2] Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, Newhaven, Conn., 1912, 306 (94).

[3] Maughan, *A Memoir of the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, Lond., 1857, 10, note 14. Cf. *postea*.

[4] Cf. *postea*.

Idolatrous Monuments," in these terms : " Forasmuch as the Assembly is informed that in divers places of the Kingdome, and especially in the North parts of the Same, many Idolatrous Monuments, erected and made for Religious worship are yet extant—Such as Crucifixes, Images of Christ, Mary, and Saints departed—ordaines the saids monuments to be taken down, demolished and destroyed, and that with all convenient diligence ; and that the care of this work shall be incumbent to the Presbyteries and Provincial Assemblies within this Kingdome, and their Commissioners to report their diligence herein to the next General Assembly." [1] The Assembly at St Andrews, on 27th July 1642, passed an Act entitled " Act anent Idolatrous Monuments at Ruthwall." [2] Its terms are unknown. In all likelihood the Rev. Gavin Young (1586–1671) was parish minister when the act of demolition took place by toppling over the Cross, which broke in falling. The lower part of the shaft lay in Murray's Quire, and with the upper portion of the shaft, 5 feet long, formed convenient seats in church. The fragments of the middle part, and probably the cross, were disposed of under table tombstones in the churchyard. Near the close of the eighteenth century, when the church was improved and furnished with pews, the stones were removed to the churchyard.

Perhaps the earliest recorded notice of the Cross, although published so recently as 1908 in Macfarlane's *Geographical Collections*, is that by Dr George Archibald (1646–1715). Archibald was a son of the minister of Dunscore, and practised as a physician in Dumfries. He wrote : " Here is also in this county St Ruth's Church, called Ruthwell, where lyes a monument broken in two pieces, which was a pillar quadrangle of stone reaching from the bottom of the church unto the roof, and on it cut the portraiture of our Saviour with Beams encircling his head, and beneath his feet : '*Supra Serpentem et Draconem Conculcabo*,' and underneath is the effigie of Peter and Paul between whom is '*Petrus et Paulus fregerunt panem in deserto*.' Many other Draughts and Letters, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew have been there, but time and ill using hath abras'd them . . . said to have been erected by the Saxons having progressed no farther into this country then that place, and that thereafter by Christians inscribed with sculptures and characters." [3]

In September 1690 the Rev. James Lason, in Salkeld, formerly Episcopal

[1] Peterkin, *Records of the Kirk of Scotland*, 279.
[2] *Ibid.*, 333.
[3] Macfarlane, *Geog. Coll.* (Scot. Hist. Soc., 1908), iii. 187, 189.

minister in Dumfries, drew the attention of the Rev. William Nicolson, then Archdeacon of Carlisle and a well-known antiquary, to the rune-inscribed cross "in ye Church at Rothwald (alias Revel)" [1] (Pl. V. fig. 1). Nicolson visited Ruthwell in April 1697, and found the monument "ravishing" and its inscription "fair and legible." He informed Edward Lhuyd and George Hickes of his discoveries. Hickes mentioned the fact, and published four tables of the inscriptions sent by Nicolson, in his edition of Jonas' Icelandic Grammar published in 1703, as Part III. of his *Linguarum veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus* [2] (Pl. VIII. fig. 2).

Nicolson's Diary is explicit: "1704, July 5, Wednesday . . . We cross'd ye (*the*) Frith at Bowness betwixt six and seven, and got to Revel (about 20 miles from Rose) at nine. I went directly to the Church, whither the parish-Clerk quickly brought me ye key; and having my former Draughts of both ye Latin and Runic Inscriptions I compared my Transcripts (once more) with the original. I found there was one whole word (*i.e.* UUQ) omitted in the fourth Legend: which might probably have entangled ye interpretation of the whole. The Characters (especially the Runic) are much larger on ye Stone itself than can be here expressed; But these are the Faces of ye four Sides as far as yir (*their*) Legends goe. Besides these there are some little Fragments of ym (*them*) on ye heavy pedestal of this Cross wch (*which*) lies in Murray's Quire, the antient Burial place of ye Murrays Earls of Annan, now extinct. This was so clumsy and unweildy that we could not (w(i)thout Crows or Levers) remove it. But on yt (*that*) side wch lay to view, were these words—ET INGRESSUS ANGELUS which seem to be part of ye History of ye Annunciation, Luc. i. 28. This pedestal is about two yards and a half long and that part (wch has been broken frō this) wheron are the foresaid Inscriptions is about 5 foot in length. Some lesser pieces, which seem to have been in ye middle, we found under Throughstones [3] in ye Churchyard. The common Tradition of ye Original of this Stone is this: It was found, letter'd and entire, in a Stone-Quarry on this Shore (a good way within ye Sea-Mark) called Rough-Scarr. Here it had lain long admir'd when (in a Dream) a neighbouring labourer was directed to yoke four Heifers of a

[1] Bishop Nicolson's Diary in *Trans. of Cumb. and West. Antiq. Soc.*, i., N.S., 1901, art. 1, 35; also vols. ii., iii., iv., v. According to Nicolson, Lason was "Moderator presbyterii sub Archiepiscopo Glasguensi . . . Before ye Church of Scotland was run down by ye Kirk."

[2] Hickes, *Thesaurus*, 5, Oxon., 1705, 2 fol.

[3] "Throughstones" were slabs set on four or six short pedestals. They were also called "thruchs," when rough and unchiselled slabs.

Bewcastle—Landscape, Parish Church, Roman Camp, Castle: looking Eastward.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 14.

certain Widow yt (*that*) lived near him; and, where they stop'd with yir (*their*) Burden, there to slack his Team, erect ye Cross and build a Church over it: All which was done accordingly. I wondered to see a Company of Modern Presbyterians (as ye present parishioners profess ymselves to be) so steady in this Faith; and even to believe yet farther, yt the Cross was not altogether so long (at its first erection) as it was afterwards: But that it miraculously grew, like a Tree, till it touched the roof of the Church." [1]

Nicolson probably informed Bishop Edmund Gibson of his researches; and in Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* it is stated: "The most ancient monument remarkable hereabouts is St Ruth's Church where is a Pillar curiously engraven: with some inscription upon it." [2] In another edition the following words are added: "ingraven with *a Danish* inscription upon it." [3]

Alexander Gordon, M.A., visited Ruthwell and published in 1726, in his *Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most of the Counties of Scotland and those in the North of England*, a succinct account of the Cross, which was illustrated in two folio plates (Nos. lvii., lviii.) [4] (Pl. VI. figs. 1–4). He observes: "That which I saw differs from all the monuments hitherto described: It lies flat on the ground within the Church of Ruthvel in the Stewartry of Annandale. . . . This obelisk some think was originally of one entire stone, but is now broke into three parts. . . . The Runic Inscriptions, round the first two sides, I have faithfully copied, and exhibited, Plate lvii.; but not being sufficiently acquainted with their Characters I shall not, at present, pretend to explain them." [5]

The Rev. Andrew Jaffray, minister of Ruthwell from 1760 till 1782, gave Pennant the information regarding Ruthwell Cross which he embodied in *A Tour in Scotland*, etc. It is "an obelisk of a great height now lying in three pieces . . . when entire it was probably about twenty feet high exclusive of pedestal and capital . . . it originally consisted of two pieces. Tradition says that the Church was built over this obelisk long after its erection, and as it was reported to have been transported by angels, it was probably so secured for the same reason as the *Santa Casa* of Loretto was, least it

[1] *Trans. Cumb.*, etc., ii., N.S., art. 14, 195–196.
[2] Lond., 1695, 910.
[3] Lond., 1772, ii. 268. The italics are ours.
[4] Lond., 1726, pt. ii. 160–161.
[5] *Ibid.*, 161.

should take another flight. The pedestal lies buried beneath the floor of the Church. I found some fragments of the capital with letters similar to the other, and on each opposite side an eagle, neatly cut in relief." [1]

Richard Gough (1735–1809), the antiquary, wrote that, not satisfied with the fidelity of the plates given by Gordon in his *Itinerarium*, and in order to obtain accurate representations of the Cross, he had employed the "very accurate pencil of Adam de Cardonel, esq., whose merit has been sufficiently displayed in his *Picturesque Antiquities of Scotland*, etc." Two plates, Nos. 54 and 55, inscribed, "Stone at Ruthwell in Anandale. *Sumptibus Soc. Antiquar.* Londini. A. de Cardonnel del. Published as the Act directs, June 4th 1789. Basire Sc.," along with three pages of relative letterpress by Gough, were published in 1789 in *Vetusta Monumenta, or Ancient Monuments illustrative of the History and Topography of Great Britain* [2] (Pl. VI. figs. 5–8). There Gough stated that the Cross "consisted originally of three divisions, a base, a shaft fifteen feet high, charged with two compartments, and a capital as transverse piece . . . the total length about twenty feet." His account of the top of the Cross is noteworthy: "The reverse side of this piece has the inscription in Runic letters round a bird like a parrot sitting on a branch with fruit (Pl. lv.)." [3]

To another minister of the parish, John Craig (1783–1798), we are indebted for the account of the Cross which appeared in Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* in 1794.[4] He wrote: "The Church is an ancient fragment, perhaps the most so of any in the country: it is a long building remarkably narrow, and has a projecting aile or wing joined to it, which was formerly the burial place of the Murrays of Cockpool, and is now of the family of Stormont." A footnote states: "In the Churchyard of Ruthwell a very curious ancient monument appears although now broken into two or three fragments, which however have all been preserved. The whole when entire seems to have had the form of an obelisk, and was about 18 feet long, and the side of each square is ornamented with figures in relievo descriptive of sacred story. Our Saviour is represented in various attitudes, and at the bottom of one of the sides his crucifixion is discernible: the borders on each of the sides are inscribed with runick characters much more ancient perhaps

[1] Pennant, *A Tour* ("Description of a Cross at Ruthvel," etc.), 1772, Chester, 1774, 85, 86; Lond., 1776, ii. 96, 97, 98.

[2] *Vetusta Monumenta* (Soc. Antiq. Lond.), Lond., 1789, ii., pls. liv., lv.

[3] *Ibid.*, 1–3.

[4] Sinclair, *Stat. Acc.*, Edin., 1794, x. 220, 226 note.

than the figures sculptured upon the stone. Tradition says that this obelisk, in remote times, was set up at a place called Priestwoodside near the sea, in order to assist the vulgar by sensible images to form some notions of religion, but was drawn from thence by a teem of oxen belonging to a widow, and placed in the Churchyard where it remained till the Reformation, when by an Act of the General Assembly it was ordered to be thrown down and broken as a monument of idolatry." [1] Thus we learn that before 1794 the Cross in fragments was lying in the churchyard.

To another parish minister, Henry Duncan (1774–1846), belongs the honour of piecing together, repairing, and restoring the fragments of the Cross, and, after making up for lost parts, of re-erecting the monument as a complete whole, after which he published an exact account of this historic relic. When Duncan was ordained to the ministry in Ruthwell in 1799 he found some fragments of the Cross in the graveyard; and soon afterwards the uppermost part of the shaft (St John and the Agnus) was exhumed from a grave. In 1802 he erected the restored shaft in his newly made garden (Pl. VII.). In 1823, aided by a local mason, he completed his work by designing, adding, and fixing a sculptured transom as it now appears. In December 1832 Dr Duncan read a learned paper on this "remarkable monument" to the Society of Antiquaries in Edinburgh, which was published in their *Transactions*,[2] and republished in separate form.[3] Engravings of Duncan's own tolerably accurate drawings of the four sides of the restored Cross and of the Runic inscriptions adorned the paper. All this praiseworthy work was somewhat marred by the introduction of an interpretation of the Runic inscription by Mr Thorleifur Gudmundson Repp, M.A., at that time a sub-librarian in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. He made ludicrous mistakes, and a wild guess that the runes recorded "a gift, for the expiation of an injury, of a *Christpason*, or baptismal font, of eleven pounds weight, made by the authority of the Therfusian Fathers for the devastation of the fields" of Ashlafardhal! No less amusing was the essay of Professor Finn Magnusen (published in Danish and in English, "On the Ruthwell Cross and the Anglo-Saxon Runes"), who made "Offa, Voden's kinsman, transfer to Eska's

[1] Sinclair, *Stat. Acc.*, Edin., 1794, 226 note.

[2] *Archæologia Scotica*, iv. pt. ii. 313–326, pls. xiii., xiv., xv.; *ibid.*, 327–336.

[3] *Account of the Remarkable Monument in the Shape of a Cross*, etc. . . . also *Letter from Mr Thorleif Gudmundson Repp*, etc., Edin., 1833, 3 plates. Dr Duncan wrote an abridgment of his paper for the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, Edin., 1845, iv. 221–227, with W. Penny's fine plate of the Cross. Dr Duncan was the originator of the parish savings banks. Cf. G. J. C. Duncan, *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D.*, Edin., 1848, 175–177.

descendant" the property of Ashlof, and "for the marriage feast prepare in the meantime"![1]

Chalmers in his *Caledonia* added nothing to our knowledge of the Cross, which he conjectured to have been erected by followers of Halfdan the Dane.[2] It fell to John Mitchell Kemble (1807–1857) to disentangle the confusion and to identify the Runic inscriptions with lines of an Anglo-Saxon poem, entitled *The Dream of the Holy Rood.* Kemble in 1840 published in the *Archæologia* a paper "On Anglo-Saxon Runes,"[3] and in 1843 a second paper entitled "Additional Observations on the Runic Obelisk at Ruthwell, the Poem of the Dream of the Holy Rood, etc."[4] This poem—*The Dream of the Holy Rood,* in 310 lines—was one of six poems found in 1832 by Professor Blume in a volume of Anglo-Saxon homilies preserved in Vercelli Cathedral Library, and hence called the *Codex Vercellensis.*[5] Kemble printed and translated the poem for the Ælfric Society in 1856.[6]

Dr Daniel Wilson gave a good account of the Cross in *The Archæology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland.*[7] In 1856 Dr Daniel H. Haigh, in the *Archæologia Æliana,* referred the authorship of the lines upon the Cross to Cædmon, and in 1861 further discussed the subject in *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons.*[8] The Cross next occupied the attention of Professor George Stephens, Copenhagen, when engaged on *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England,* of which work "The Ruthwell Cross, Northumbria," etc., forms a chapter in the second part.[9] In 1866 Stephens published this account separately, and in it gave *The Holy Rood, a Dream,* as "Cædmon's Complete Cross-Lay," with "translations, comments, and fac-simile plates." In 1884 Stephens also gave an illustrated account of the Crosses at Bewcastle and Ruthwell in a *Handbook of the Old-Northern Runic Monuments,* etc.[10] Stephens, having satisfied himself that he had

[1] *Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie,* 1836–7; *Report addressed by Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries to its British and American Members,* Copenhagen, 1836, 81–88. Magnusen also gave his views in *Runamo,* 1841.

[2] *Caledonia,* i. 380, 466.

[3] *Archæologia,* xxviii., xii. 327–372. Pls. xvii., xviii. (350, 353) taken from Duncan, Gordon, and Hickes.

[4] *Ibid.,* xxx., ii. 31–41.

[5] Printed in Appendix B, Cooper's Report on Rymer's *Fœdera,* by B. Thorpe, 1836 (1869), E. Codex Vercelli, 100–104. In Cook's edition, 156 ll.

[6] *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis,* Lond., 1856, No. 6, pt. 2, 82–93.

[7] Edin., 1851, 543–549.

[8] *Arch. Æliana,* i. (N.S.), 1857, 167–187; *Conquest,* 37–40.

[9] Lond. and Copenhagen, 1866, 3 vols. fol., *ibid.,* i. 411, 419–420.

[10] Lond., Edin., Copenhagen, 1884, 128–132.

Fig. 1. Archbishop Nicolson.

Fig. 2. Rev. Dr Duncan.

Fig. 3. St Cuthbert.

Fig. 4. Rev. James M'Farlan.

Fig. 5. St Dunstan.

To face page 18.

discovered the name Cædmon on the Cross, dated the monument "at about 680."

In 1867 Dr John Stuart gave an account of the Cross, with four excellent plates, in *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.[1]

Of the many antiquaries and philologists who have investigated the difficulties connected with Ruthwell Cross, none of the earlier writers published so thorough and accurate an account as Wilhelm Vietor, whose work, *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, contains elaborate critical views on the crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle [2] (Pl. VIII. fig. 4). Excellent photographic illustrations accompany the text. Mention, however, must also be made of the Latin thesis of Francis Dietrich, *Disputatio de cruce Ruthwellensi, addita tabula lapide excusa*, published in Marburg in 1865, wherein the author, considering Cynewulf, Bishop of Lindisfarne, to have written *The Dream of the Rood*, assigned a date between 764 and 794 for Ruthwell Cross.[3]

To still another parish minister, the Rev. James M'Farlan (1845–1889), is the world of arts and letters indebted for the housing and preservation of the Cross in an apse specially built and added to the north side of the church in 1887 [4] (Pl. III. fig. 2). This was done with the consent of the parochial and ecclesiastical authorities, the cost being defrayed by public subscription and a grant of £50 from the Treasury (Pl. I., frontispiece). A brass tablet in the apse bears this inscription: "The Ruthwell Cross dates from Anglo-Saxon Times: Destroyed during the conflicts which followed the Reformation: Lay in the earthen floor of this Church from 1642 to 1790: Erected in the Manse Garden in 1823: Sheltered here and declared a Monument under the Ancient Monuments Act in 1887." [5]

After a visit to the Cross, Mr George F. Black, in September 1887, recorded some readings of the runes which he had examined.[6] This was followed, in

[1] Edin., 1867, ii., pref. xcv, 12–17, pls. xix., xx., xxi., xxii. (Spalding Club).

[2] Marburg in Hessen, 1895, 2–16. Cf. *postea*.

[3] *Indices Lectionum . . . Acad. Marburgensi*, Marburgi, n.d. Title spelled as above.

[4] Mr M'Farlan, pastor, poet, and antiquary, was minister of the parish, 1871–1889: *James M'Farlan*, Edin., 1892 (privately printed). His successor, John L. Dinwiddie, M.A., is frequently thanked by Vietor and other writers for valuable assistance given to all students of the Cross.

[5] Messrs Campbell, Douglas, & Sellars, Glasgow, were the architects of the apse; and Mr John W. Dods, sculptor, Dumfries, personally superintended the re-erection of the Cross: *James M'Farlan*, 84–90. Mr M'Farlan published a pamphlet on the Cross in 1885. The second edition, with additions and illustrations, appeared in 1896—*The Ruthwell Cross*, Dumfries, 1896, 28 pp. Leopoldo Arigi and Guiseppi Cavagnari, in 1894, under the direction of Sir R. M. Smith, made casts of the monument for the National Museums (Pl. XXIII. fig. 5).

[6] *The Academy*, 1 Oct. 1887, No. 804, 225.

1890, by a letter from Professor Albert S. Cook on "The Date of the Ruthwell Cross," which was followed in 1900 by *Notes on the Ruthwell Cross*, which were a valuable dissertation on the subject.[1] The same writer has formed *The Dream of the Rood* into a most informative text-book.[2] Professor G. F. Browne, who visited Ruthwell in the autumn of 1889, published his readings in 1890.[3]

Dr Joseph Anderson, who had published a full account of Ruthwell Cross, with illustrations, in *Scotland in Early Christian Times*,[4] collaborated with Mr John Romilly Allen in producing *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*,[5] where full justice is done to the Cross and similar monuments. It would be impossible within the compass of this work to do more than make a passing reference to the hosts of writers who have dealt with this subject; but among the most recent and notable contributions must be mentioned well-illustrated articles by G. T. Rivoira,[6] who refers both crosses to the twelfth century, W. R. Lethaby,[7] and Sir Martin Conway.[8]

In 1912 by far the fullest and most learned account of the monuments yet published, entitled *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*,[9] appeared from the pen of Professor Albert S. Cook. It is a reprint from vol. xvii. 213–361, Dec. 1912, of *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*. It is adorned with many photographs of the sculpture and runes, and with illustrations relative to the subject, and it produces an array of authorities and facts of much interest. The author's object is to prove his hypothesis that both crosses are productions whose existence is best explained by assigning them to the time and influence of David I., Prince of Cumbria and King of Scotland—to the twelfth century. In earlier studies Professor Cook, from linguistic considerations, assigned the Ruthwell

[1] *The Academy*, 1 Mar. 1890, No. 930, 153; *Notes*, etc., in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.* of America, xvii. 367–90.

[2] Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1905.

[3] *The Academy*, 8 Mar. 1890, No. 931, 170–1. Professor Browne is now Bishop of Bristol.

[4] Edin., 1881: Second Series, 232–246.

[5] Edin., 1903. In Part I., xxix–xxxi, Dr Anderson describes the Cross; in Part III. 443–448 (the Rhind Lectures for 1892), Mr Allen fully delineates it, giving a splendid survey of the monument in eight photographs, tables of runes, with the inscriptions in full. Mr Allen had already, in *The Monumental Hist. of the Brit. Church*, Lond., 1889 (S.P.C.K.), 159, 209, referred to the two crosses now under review.

[6] *The Burlington Magazine*, xxi., cix., April 1912.

[7] *Ibid.*, cxi.

[8] *Ibid.*, cxii.

[9] Yale University Press, Newhaven, Connecticut, 1912, 149 pp.

Cross inscription "to the tenth century, and probably to the latter half of that century."[1]

B. Bewcastle Obelisk—Emergence into History.

The literature in reference to the rune-inscribed monument at Bewcastle is also so increasingly voluminous that only the most important authorities can be cited here. In 1615 Lord William Howard sent, by Lord Arundel, to Sir Robert Cotton the rune-inscribed head of a cross, concerning which Cotton made or kept the following note, still preserved among his MSS. in the British Museum :—

"RIKÆSDRUHTNÆS (in Runes).

"This inscription was on the head of a Cross found at Beucastell in 1615. The length of the stone bein the head of the Crosse—16 inches. The breadth of the upper end—12 ynches. The thicknes—4 inches." [2] Cotton in a letter apprised Camden, who had already perambulated Cumberland and published his *Britannia* (1607), of this find. Camden placed the slip of paper between pages 643 and 644 of his work, which together are preserved in the Bodleian Library. The letter runs : "(in Runes) RIKÆSDRYHTNÆS," with the superscription in English letters, "rinæs d(m)r-htnæs" ; then the communication : "I receaved this morning a ston from my lord of Arundell sent him from my lord William. It was the head of a Cross at Bewcastell. All the lettres legable ar thes in on(e) line. And I have sett to them such as I can gather out of my Alphabetts : that like an A I can find in non(e). But w(h)ither thes be only lettres or words I somwhatt dout . . ." [3] (Pl. IX. fig. 1). Howard also communicated his discovery to Camden and Sir Henry Spelman in 1618, and the latter, understanding that the Runic inscription was upon the epistyle of the Cross, got the runes transmitted to Dr Olaf Worm, the Danish antiquary, for interpretation. Worm replied to Spelman on 18th July 1629 in these terms : "Inscriptio epistilii crucis lapideæ Beaucastriensis verè Gothica seu Runica est, sed ab imperito planè descripta : nam nec integra est, nec 4, 5, 7, 8, 12 notæ confusionem et deprivationem

[1] Cook, *The Dream of the Rood*, Intro. xvii ; *Notes on the R. Cross*, 390.

[2] Cotton MS. Domitian, xviii. f. 37 ; another copy, Julius, F. vi. f. 313, gives the same reading and the information that the "Bucastle inscription" was prepared "for Mr Clarenceaulx," *i.e.* Camden. Cf. "The Runes on the Lost Head of B. C.," by Dr James Wilson, *Cumb. and West. Antiq. Trans.*, x., N.S., 503–507. Wanley indexed the Domitian MS. in *Antiq. Lit. Sept.*, Oxon., 1705, 248.

[3] Bodleian Library MS., Smith, i.

effugêre. Quod etiam de monumento in comitatu Brigantino extante a clarissimo Camdeno delineato conqueror: alioquin non hic ullo opus foret Appoline. Quid si ita legendum ᚱᛁᚾᛟ ᛋᛏᛅᛏᚢᚾ ᚱᚢᚾᛅᛋᛏᛁᚾᛅ *Rino fatu Runa stina d.* Rino Lapides hos Runicos posuit" (*i.e.* Rino has placed these Runic stones).[1] Wanley, in 1705, was a little nearer the mark when he read the runes, "Rynas Dryhtnes—mysteria Domini" (*i.e.* mysteries of the Lord).[2]

We are fortunate in possessing "A letter from Mr William Nicolson to the Reverend Mr Walker, Master in University College in Oxford, concerning a Runic inscription at Beaucastle," and dated "Carlile, Nov. 2, 1685." It was published in the Oxford *Philosophical Transactions* for that year,[3] and the same volume contains Nicolson's account of Bridekirk Font. Edmund Gibson republished Archbishop Nicolson's account in the second edition of the *Britannia*, where the monument is thus described: "In the Churchyard is a cross of one entire square stone about twenty foot high and curiously cut: there is an inscription too, but the letters are so dim that they are not legible."[4] Nevertheless, in the 1695 edition of *Britannia* there are "Additions to Cumberland" by Edmund Gibson, in which it is stated: "The letters of the Inscription at Beau-castle are still legible enough. A few of them (but unskilfully copy'd) were communicated to our Author himself A.D. 1618, as Sir Henry Spelman witnesses." He then quotes Nicolson's letter to Walker, and after the reference to the runes adds: "Besides these there is a large inscription on the west: and on the south side of the stone these letters are fairly discernable (Gag Ubbo Erlat). Of the meaning whereof the Gentleman who communicated his conjectures upon the rest to Mr Walker, will give his opinion at large in his History of Northumberland, Part 6."[5] In the fourth edition of the *Britannia*, edited with notes from Bishop Gibson's note-books, Nicolson's letter is reprinted, and from that edition the following notes are taken[6]:—"I was assured by the curate of the place (a man of good sense and learning in greater matters) . . . that the characters were so miserably worn out that they were now wholly defaced, and nothing to be met with worth my while. The former part of this relation I found to be true for, though it appears that the aforesaid inscription has been much larger than

[1] Olaus Wormius, *Danicorum Monumentorum Libri Sex*, Hafniæ, 1643, 161–168; *Britannia* edit. Gough, Lond., 1806, iii. 455, pl. xxvi. fig. 4.

[2] *Antiq. Lit. Sept.*, Oxon., 1705, 248.

[3] Vol. xv. 1287–1291.

[4] Lond., n.d., ii. 1027–1031.

[5] Lond., 1695, 843, 844.

[6] *Britannia*, Lond., 1772, 180.

Wormius has given it, yet it is at present so far lost, that in six or seven lines none of the characters are fairly discernable save only ᚢᚠᛏᛋᚱ and these too are incoherent and at a great distance from each other. However the *Epistylium Crucis* (as Sir H. Spelman in his letter to Wormius has called it) is to this day a noble monument. It is one entire freestone of about five yards in height, washed over with a white oily cement to preserve it." A detailed description follows. " On the top stands the effigies of the B(lessed) V(irgin) with the babe in her arms, and both their heads encircled with glories as before. . . . On the north . . . the following characters fairly legible ᛁᚳᚢᚴᚷ ᛒᚢᚹᚢᛝ Rynburu." This he interprets to be either " burial of runes," or " cœmeterium," or " cadaverum sepulchrum." [1] . . . " On the south . . . the following decayed inscription ᚾᛉᛏᚢᛒᚾᚷᚱᛗᛏᚾ, it may read thus *Gag Ubbo Erlat*, i.e. *Latrones Ubbo vicit* (Ubbo conquered the robbers)." [2] The editor also adds: " But seeing the cross is of the same kind with that in the arms of the Vaulx we may suppose that it has been erected by some of that family." [3]

Gough, in his second edition of *Britannia*, states that " when Bishop Nicolson was here again in his visitation, 1703, he tried to make out this (*i.e.* fig. 3) on the west side, but though it promised fair at a distance he could not make out even this inscription. . . . I take them to be those given on the head of a cross 1615[k] (k, Cott. Lib. Dom., xviii. 7, *i.e.* the Howard Runes), part of it now a gravestone, though Bishop Nicolson considers them as part of the ruins of the inscription over the head of the figure on the west side, plainly confounding the *transverse* piece of the cross with the upright of the cross itself." [4]

In 1742 George Smith (1693–1756), a competent scholar, published in *The Gentleman's Magazine* first of all a copy of the Runic inscription " taken from a very curious Obelisk, erected for a monument in a Churchyard in Cumberland," the characters being neatly engraved [5] (Pl. XI. fig. 1). This was followed in two subsequent numbers by two full-page illustrations of the obelisk, a view of the top, copies of the runes on the north and south sides, and explanatory letterpress [6] (Pl. IX. figs. 2, 3). In a correction of Nicolson's RYNBURU on the north face Smith says: " Upon the whole I

[1] *Britannia*, Lond., 1772, 180. *Rynburu* is a printer's mistake for *Kynburu*.
[2] *Ibid.*, 181.
[3] *Ibid.*, 179.
[4] Lond., 1806, iii. 455, pl. xxvi. figs. 1, 2, 3, 4.
[5] *Gentleman's Magazine*, xii. 132.
[6] *Ibid.*, 318, 369, 529. (Drawn by Smith in 1741; engraved by A. Pennock.)

read it KUNIBURUK, which in the old Danish Language imports *Sepulchrum Regis.*" [1] He dates it in the ninth century: "This transaction happened about 850 years ago (*i.e.* 891 A.D.), and none believe the obelisk to be older than 900. That the monument is Danish appears incontestable from the characters, etc." [2]

In 1775 there appeared in *The London Magazine* an article entitled "An Account of a Curious Obelisk . . . in the Church yard of Bewcastle, etc., . . ." "Illustrated with an elegant Engraving" of the four sides.[3] The writer states: "What is here represented is 15 feet high; besides there has been on the top a cross now broken off, part of which may be seen as a gravestone in the same churchyard. . . . The figures and carving are very fair but the inscription which is on the west face is not legible. At the top of that face is a figure with a mitre: below that another in a priest's habit: then was the inscription, and below that the figure of a man with a bird, said to be St Peter and his Cock" (cf. Pl. X.).

Nicolson and Burn's *History of Westmorland and Cumberland* in 1777 added no new facts regarding the obelisk. It erroneously states: "In the churchyard of this place is a cross of one intire stone, about five feet and a half high, two feet broad at the bottom and an half at the top, in which top a cross heretofore was fixed." [4]

In 1794 Mr William Hutchinson, F.A.S., gave a full account of the obelisk in *The History of the County of Cumberland*, and included an engraving illustrating the four sides.[5] Hutchinson, while accepting Smith's reading of the runes, employed a friend to decipher them, the result being that some were found to be "confused and imperfect," while others he accepted with "great doubt." He concluded that the figure at the top of the cross was "the holy Virgin with the Babe."

In 1801 Mr Henry Howard of Corby Castle, Carlisle, sent a detailed account of the cross, with copies of the runes, to George Nayler, the York Herald, and this paper, read to the Society of Antiquaries in May 1801, appears in the *Archæologia*.[6] He wrote: "Runic Column at Bewcastle.—

[1] *Gentlemen's Magazine*, xii. 369.

[2] *Ibid.*

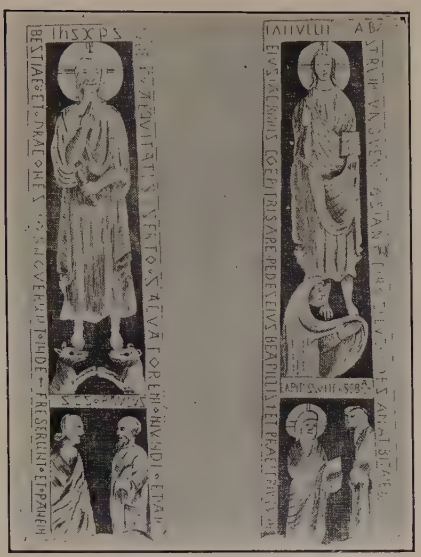
[3] Aug. 1775, xliv. 388: Gough says it was written by G. Armstrong. *Britannia*, 1806, iii. 455. Maughan states that Captain Armstrong, a surveyor, was born at Lowgrange, a mile from the monument: *Memoir*, 10.

[4] *Hist.*, ii. 478–9.

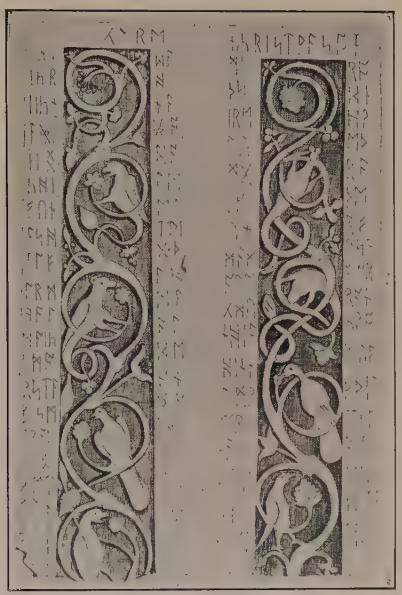
[5] Carlisle, 1794, i. 80–89.

[6] *Archæologia*, Lond., 1808, xiv.(Art. xviii.), 113–118: "Observations on Bridekirk Font, and on the Runic Column at Bewcastle in Cumberland, etc."

PLATE VI.



Figs. 1 and 2. Gordon's.



Figs. 3 and 4. Gordon's.

Figs. 5 and 6. Cardonnel's.

Figs. 7 and 8. Cardonnel's.

Illustrations of Ruthwell Cross.

To face page 24.

Of this celebrated monument I have seen several engravings, none of them accurate ; but I understand that Mr de Cardonnel has published a faithful delineation ; which, however, I have not had an opportunity of seeing. I send you the vestiges of the inscriptions, the result of two days employment on the spot " (Pl. XI. fig. 2). A description and measurements follow. He continues : " To this (shaft) a cross appears to have been added, the socket of which is observable. . . . Some parts of the inscription (see Plate xxxiv. fig. 2), probably owing to the stone being there softer, have been more affected than the rest. The third, fourth, and fifth lines are the most perfect. Towards the lower part scarce anything is to be made out. On the whole, indeed, little more than the vestiges of this inscription remain : the perpendicular parts of the letters are discernible and have probably been deepened by the rain, but the horizontal and other parts are nearly obliterated. In taking the inscription I followed the same plan as at Bridekirk, working the paper in with the finger at the edges of every part of the letters with the pencil, so that in the paper I send you have all that can be either seen or felt of this inscription. The North inscription of one line only (*Ibid.* fig. 3), being completely sheltered by the Church, has suffered very little injury from time ; and, I must say, that the difference observable in the engravings given to the public, must have arisen from want of attention and exactness. On the South side there is a fillet like that to the North (*Ibid.* fig. 1), but a few letters only can be made out, the rest are chipped off or worn away. I request you, my dear Sir, to present to the Society the original tracery of these inscriptions taken by me on the spot." [1]

In 1816 the Rev. Daniel Lysons and Samuel Lysons, in *Magna Britannia*, produced another fully illustrated account of the obelisk. An engraved plate bears the signature " *S. Lysons delt. et fecit.*" [2] A representation of the runes on the west side somewhat resembles the transcription by Howard (Pl. XI. figs. 3, 4). According to Lysons, " The female figure is so defaced that nothing more than a general outline can be distinguished : what she holds in her hand is much better preserved, and is the holy lamb."

In 1840 John M. Kemble, in his dissertation on *Anglo-Saxon Runes*, confessed himself unable to interpret " the hardly legible remains of a long runic inscription " which " may still be traced " on the obelisk at Bewcastle.[3]

[1] See note 5, p. 24.

[2] *Magna Brit.*, Lond., 1816, iv. cxcix. S. Lysons' drawings are preserved in the British Museum, *q.v.*

[3] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 347.

Thus the matter stood till the year 1856. This grand inscribed monument remained unread, unreadable by England's greatest scholars, and as mysterious as the Sphinx. Then, on the advent of two antiquarian clergymen, the Rev. Daniel H. Haigh (1819–79), of Erdington, near Birmingham, and the Rev. John Maughan, A.B., Rector of Bewcastle (1836–1874), the subject assumed fresh complexions, the sculpture became intelligible, and the runes were alleged to be clearly legible and interpretable (Pl. XII. figs. 1, 2).

The latter, Maughan, in 1857 wrote an interesting *Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, etc.,[1] in which he found it his "painful duty" to make observations upon Haigh's version of the inscription, which materially differed from his.[2] Maughan by request had forwarded a rubbing to Haigh, but he confesses, "I took special care that the rubbing should not be perfect and satisfactory in those parts where I had not decided as to the correct reading"![3] Haigh's version was first communicated to the Antiquarian Society at Newcastle-upon-Tyne in January 1856—thereafter his views were published in the *Archæologia Æliana*[4] and *The Conquest of Britain*.[5] In the latter work he says: "The first (inscription) on the western face of the Cross at Bewcastle, in Cumberland, is simply a memorial of Alcfrid, who was associated by Oswin in the Kingdom of Northumbria, and died probably in 664."[6]

Maughan, who became an enthusiast for runes, after the laborious use of novel means to decipher the characters,[7] had in 1854 partially announced his discoveries,[8] which in a maturer form he published in the *Memoir* already mentioned. Therein appeared a table of the main runes, with the translation: "+Hwætred, Wæthgar, Alwfwold set up this pillar in memory of Alcfrid, ane King, and son of Oswy. Pray thou for them, their sins, their souls."[9] He fixed the date after the plague of 664. Maughan also found on the west face four lines reading: "in the first year (of the reign) of Egfrid, King of this Kingdom of Northumbria, *i.e.*, A.D. 670, in which year we may conclude this monument was erected."[10]

In 1895 there appeared from the pen of Wilhelm Vietor, illustrated with

[1] *A Memoir*, etc., Lond., 1857, 1–44.
[2] *Ibid.*, 31–38.
[3] *Ibid.*, 31.
[4] Newcastle, 1857, i. (N.S.) 149–167.
[5] Lond., 1861, 37–40.
[6] *Ibid.*, 37. Haigh found ALCFRI(TH)AE in the seventh line where Maughan found EAC OSWIU. Maughan found ALCFRI in the fourth line, where Haigh found ROETB(ER)T. So the doctors differed!
[7] *Ibid.*, 17, 18 note.
[8] *Ibid.*, 17; *Archæological Journal*, xi.
[9] *Ibid.*, 18.
[10] *Ibid.*, 27.

photographs, a treatise on *The Rune-Stones of Northumbria*, exhaustively examining the cross and the readings of the critics, even to trivial incisions on the stone.[1] His destructive personal and textual inquiry has rightly left little of the imagined epitaph—a few words, CYNIBURUG, GESSUS CRISTTUS, SSU, HWÆTR[E]D, GAR and CYNIQ; "As very probable I regard Maughan's ALCFRITHU as well as OSW(IU ?)Q." [2] It is a small tithe of the clerical learning! His critical method justified Howard's observations nearly a century before.

Bewcastle Obelisk is described and illustrated by Dr John Stuart in *The Sculptured Stones of Scotland*.[3]

An informative, well-illustrated dissertation on the obelisk appears in *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses . . . in the present Diocese of Carlisle*, by the late Rev. William Slater Calverley.[4] This work was edited by Mr W. G. Collingwood, M.A., who has also fully dealt with the same subject in *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland*, with superb illustrations [5] (Pl. XII. fig. 4).

The version of Maughan, with a few unimportant emendations, has been accepted by such authorities as Stephens, Calverley, Collingwood, Bishop Browne, Hodgkin, Champneys, and many others. So far back as 1889 Mr J. Romilly Allen shrewdly observed: "Unfortunately the inscription on the former (Bewcastle Cross) is so much obliterated that it cannot be read with any degree of certainty." [6] The obelisk appears to have stood undisturbed where it now is until in 1891 some repairs were executed about the base. The ancient church, however, was restored and reopened for worship on 3rd November 1901.[7] Beside it are preserved two early monuments with crosses incised upon them [8] (Pl. XXVIII.).

[1] *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, Marburg in Hessen, 1895, 13–16.
[2] *Ibid.*, 16. [3] Edin., 1867, ii. 16–18, pls. xxi., xxii.
[4] *Cumb. and West. Antiq. and Arch. Soc.*, Extra Series, vol. xi., Kendal, 1899.
[5] Westminster, 1901, i. 254–257, 277–278.
[6] *Mon. Hist. of Brit. Church* (S.P.C.K.), 208.
[7] J. F. Curwen, "St Cuthbert's Church, Bewcastle," in *Cumb. and West. Antiq. Soc. Trans.*, ii. (N.S.), 242–254.
[8] These slabs measure respectively 4 feet 9 inches by 1 foot 3 inches, and 2 feet 11 inches by 1 foot 6 inches. The cross on the former stone is over 4 feet long. Under the direction of Mr D. J. Vallance, of the Royal Scottish Museum, Edinburgh, Guiseppi Cavagnari and James Irving Dyce, in August 1913, made casts of the Bewcastle Obelisk for the National Museums.

CHAPTER III

I.—DESCRIPTION OF RUTHWELL CROSS

Ruthwell Cross is a High-Cross, free-standing, elaborately carved on four sides, constructed of two distinct blocks, the lower shaft being of local dark purplish sandstone (Pl. XIII.).[1] "Under date of August 25 in this year (1887) there is the following entry in Mr M'Farlan's pocket-book :—

"The Cross completed in its new site by Mr Dods, Dumfries—

Complete height, 18 feet 1 inch.

In socket, 9 inches.

It stands 17 feet 4 inches, showing all that was originally shown on base. It stood before, 15 feet 6 inches from the grass." [2] The following are Mr J. Romilly Allen's measurements : "Total height of cross, 17 feet ; height of base, 3 feet 8 inches ; height of shaft, 10 feet 6 inches ; height of head, 2 feet 10 inches ; width of base, 2 feet 3 inches ; width of shaft at bottom, 1 foot 9 inches ; width of shaft at top, 1 foot 1 inch ; width across transom, 3 feet 1 inch ; width of top arm, 9 inches ; thickness of base, 1 foot 6 inches ; thickness of shaft at bottom, 1 foot 6 inches ; thickness of shaft at top, 9 inches." According to Mr Dods, who re-erected the Cross, it was originally formed of two portions : [3] "The shaft or lower section is fully 12 feet

[1] *James M'Farlan* (*A Memoir*), Edin., 1892, 83.

[2] *Early Christ. Mon.*, pt. iii. 442. Cf. fig. 101A.

[3] Letter to author, 14th February 1913. Mr Dods gave Mr M'Farlan the above measurements when the Cross was in process of re-erection. Dr Duncan stated that "the whole length of the pillar is 17 feet 6 inches, of which the lower stone measures 12 feet 6 inches, and the upper 5 feet" (*Account*, 8.)

The following additional measurements show the detailed proportions of the Cross :—

		Inches.
South face :	breadth at bottom	28
	height of first horizontal margin	5
	height of *first* panel	35½
	breadth between first and second panel	27
	height of second margin	3⅜
	height of *second* panel	27
	breadth of perpendicular margin	2¾
	height of third margin	3

PLATE VII.

Ruthwell Cross, re-erected by the Rev. Dr Duncan.
Photograph by Mr J. Rutherford.

To face page 28.

in height. The upper or cross section is about 6 feet in height. The joint has been made in the most approved masonic form with a socket and tongue. The shaft of the cross was fixed by me in the same manner into a base block below the floor line. . . . The size of the base of the shaft is 2 feet 6 inches across front, and 1 foot 6 inches thick . . . part of the top is broken away. . . . There is no beading on the Cross; the bands and edge margins are flat for the purpose of inscription." The bottom part of the shaft is formed like a plinth, which, 43¾ inches from the base, curves towards the shaft, as the photograph indicates.

The top stone was formed into an elegant panelled cross within a wheel with four perforations gracefully designed. When the Cross fell it broke at a point 7 feet 6 inches from the base, and the upper part, through falling farther, was broken into smaller pieces. The number of original stones used in the restoration is five, and several small stones were needed to pack the upper portion. The carved finial is original, but the transom set in was the modern stone carved to Dr Duncan's design at the first restoration. The upper

	Inches.
breadth across third margin	19¾
height of *third* panel ($a+b$, 11×19)	30
height of fourth margin	2⅝
breadth across fourth margin	17
height of *fourth* panel	32
breadth across fifth margin	14
height of fifth margin	2⅜
height of *fifth* panel	27½
height of sixth margin	2¼
breadth of sixth margin	13¼
height of *sixth* panel	9¾
height of seventh margin	2¼
height of *centre* stone in transom	13½
height of *top* stone	12
breadth of top stone below	10
breadth of top stone above	9

		Inches.
North face:	first panel	36×20
	second ,,	21×16
	third ,,	25×13
	fourth ,,	42½×11 (figure of Christ 32 inches)
	fifth ,,	24½×10
	sixth ,,	10×9
East and West faces	first panel	141×12×7
	second ,,	27× 7×6

The runes vary in size, the runes on the margins descending vertically, measuring on an average 2½ inches (some are slightly longer); and those on the horizontal margins measure 1¾ inches. The Latin-Saxon letters are in height 2 inches. The depth of the carving is from 1 inch to 3½ inches.

portion of the shaft is of a darker hue. According to Bishop Browne, "it seems not impossible that this upper part about 5 feet 6 inches high was the original Cross, and the great shaft 12 feet high, was (added) a few years later."[1] Mr James Barbour has shown that this view is untenable.[2]

Both monuments at Ruthwell and Bewcastle are obeliscal in form and character, and this is the first point of resemblance with Egyptian memorials; the second is, they are panelled; and the third, they are inscribed, especially on the margins.

Panels

There are six incised rectangular panels on the obverse of the shaft, now facing south, and six similar panels on the reverse, facing north. The transom was probably panelled like the top arm. All these panels are occupied with figures of men and women, birds, and an ass cut in bold relief. The other two sides (both memorials are quadrilateral), facing east and west, have each been divided into three panels—the lower panels exhibiting figures now much detrited, the others filled with stems of vines and other plants whose pendulous fruits are being devoured by birds and animals. These panels resemble the niches in the granite monolithic shrines of the Egyptian gods, round which on flat margins descriptive hieroglyphics, and below which figures, are incised.[3]

Flat margins round the panels on the obverse and reverse have been incised with Latin-Saxon capitals to form sentences, or reproduce Bible texts in Latin, which describe the relative subjects. Similarly the edges round the panels on the sides and one margin are incised with runes, some undecipherable, which display eighteen lines found in the poem, *The Dream of the Holy Rood*. The top stone on one side shows Latin-Saxon capitals decipherable, and on the other runes disputable.

I.—OBVERSE: SOUTH FACE (Pl. XIII.)

1. *The Crucifixion*

The lowest panel of the front of the Cross (Stephens considered this the west face) is from one point of view the most important. It displays a cross

[1] *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 1906 (S.P.C.K.), 206.

[2] "The upper block is stained blood-red, but the stain does not pass quite through the stone, and one face retains the general hue, a circumstance . . . which disposes of the suggestion that the blocks were taken from different quarries, and of the theory that the Cross is of two different periods."—*Trans. Dumfries Nat. Hist. Soc.*, xvi. 30.

[3] Cf. the Shrine of Isis (B.C. 147–117) in *Brit. Mus. Guide to Egypt. Coll.*, 1909, 270.

and the dead Saviour suspended upon it (Pl. XXV. fig. 1).[1] The figure, boldly modelled and accurately carved, is partially nude. Traces of a nimbus encircle the head, which slightly rests on the right shoulder. Faintest indications of locks and beard appear. The left arm, extending naked from a well-moulded shoulder, seems to be tied to the tree at the elbow, or to pass through the very transom.[2] The biceps is prominent. The chest also seems to be bare, as the well-shaped legs from the knees downward undoubtedly are. The only garment is less like a *colobium* reaching to the knees than a loin-cloth, broad and knotted on the right side. It is more like a kilt, short skirt, or semi-tunic, as seen on the later crucifixes. The legs are not crossed. Two rounded objects are carved above the transom. One may represent the sun, a closed bag, or a water jar; the other, the moon, or a crown of thorns. On both sides of the cross faint outlines of figures and of a small crucifix are traceable still. Dr Duncan considered these to be representations of the two crucified thieves. In other pictures the soldiers, or the Saviour's mother and St John, are shown at the foot of the cross. A similar but more elaborate conception of the Crucifixion scene—cross, orbs, nimbus, drooping head, naked arms, feet apart, the two thieves—is found depicted in the Syrian Gospel of Rabula (586), but the figure is clothed with the *colobium* down to his ankles.[3]

2. *The Annunciation*

The second panel exhibits two artistically carved figures, the one having wings, and both being distinguished by the ordinary nimbus. Both are robed to near the ankles, and appear to be walking, and about to meet each other, the angel Gabriel firmly, the other—the Virgin—with downcast look and stooping gait. Her tresses fall upon her shoulders, and her right arm seems to be uplifted to her breast. Gabriel's arms are lifted till the hands meet in the attitude of prayer. On the margin above their heads are incised the letters (some very faint) INGRESSUS ANGEL(US). This obviously is part

[1] The panel measures 35½ inches by 22 inches. Dr J. Anderson erred in stating, "The first panel contains a simple cross of plain Latin form": *Scot. in Early Christ. Times* (2nd S.), 234.

[2] The Christ fills the centre of the panel, the figure being 35 inches long, and across the breast 18 inches. This breadth suggests the ligature, as explained by Lipsius in *De Cruce*, cap. viii. 61, Antwerp, 1695. Mr James Barbour, architect, Dumfries, who must have known the Cross for half a century, in 1900, thus records his views: "A large cross with the crucified Christ, of which only the limbs remain. On one side . . . indications of a smaller cross. At the foot of the cross were a group of figures. . . . Heavy folds of drapery frame the picture on either side, the inner edges converging at a point in the centre, and parting widely at top and bottom as if by violence" —veil of temple rent: *The Trans. Dumfries and G. N. H. and Antiq. Soc.*, No. 16, 1899, 1900, 31.

[3] Cf. *postea*, pp. 97–101.

of the Gospel of St Luke (i. 28) in the Vulgate version : "*Ingressus Angelus ad eam dixit : ave, gratia plena, dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus,*" "The angel (Gabriel), having entered, said to her, Hail, thou that art endued with grace, the Lord is with thee : blessed art thou among women." On the right-hand edge the letters are worn away : on the left a few scars mark their presence. Bosio records an Annunciation scene (Mary seated) in the cemetery of St Priscilla (second century).[1]

3. *Christ healing the Blind Man*

The third panel shows two figures *vis-à-vis*, the one—Christ—distinguished by a cruciferous two-rayed nimbus, the other the blind man. Christ's right forearm and hand are extended upwards ; the fingers of the left hand are visible below these. Both are clad in tunic and mantle ; both have hair falling to the shoulders. The inscription on the right margin runs, † ET PRAETERIENS VIDI(*t* ; here the stone is much broken and *cæcum*, obliterated) ; on the left margin, A NATIBITATE ET SA (*navit eum a*) B INFIRMITATE, a reference to John ix. thus paraphrased : "And passing by He (Christ) saw a man blind from his birth and healed him of his infirmity." Lundy reproduces Bosio's second-century picture from a fresco in St Callixtus showing Christ healing the blind man.[2]

This panel, 30 inches in height and tapering from 14 inches to 13 in breadth, in its lower part is unfinished, apparently having been prepared for an inscription. The indentations are not such as convey the idea that the inscription has been chiselled away.

4. *The Sinful Woman anointing Christ's Feet.*

The fourth panel displays two figures—the one the statuesque form of the Saviour wearing a large nimbus, with the three-rayed cross incised upon it ; the other the representation of the head and bust of a woman with her right hand extended and holding the end of a long tress of hair upon the Saviour's left foot, whence it curls downwards. The pose of the Lord is noble. Pendulous locks touch His shoulders. His right hand with uplifted fingers is raised to bless. His left hand presses to His breast a book-like object, not unlike the Tablet of Destiny associated with Merodach-Bel, "who

[1] *Roma Sotteranea* (Roma, 1632), 541.

[2] Lundy, *Monumental Christianity*, 19 ; Bosio, *Roma Sott.*, 249. Hübner illustrates the exchange of B for V in Nativitate from a stone at Llantwit bearing *properabit*, and from another at Margam bearing *proparabit*, both places being in Glamorganshire : *Inscript.*, 63.

PLATE VIII.

Fig. 1. Menhir at Dol.

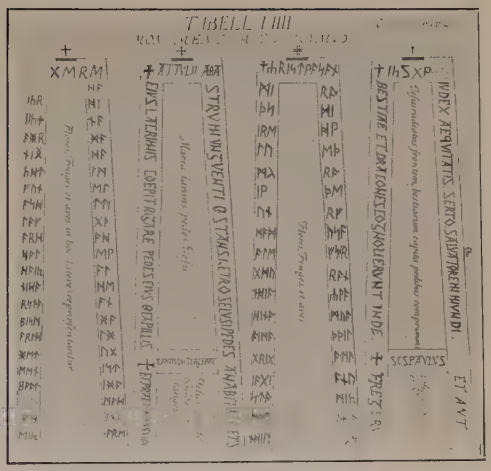


Fig. 2. Hickes' Table of the Runes on Ruthwell Cross.

Fig. 3. Crucifix of Charlemagne.

Fig. 4. Vietor's Illustration of Head of Ruthwell Cross.

To face page 32.

loves to raise the dead to life," according to the Solar cult. Apostles are shown with this symbol to indicate the Gospel.

The figure of Christ is 23 inches in height and is clad with albe (*tunica*), chasuble (*paenula*), and pallium. The woman is dressed in a *palla* which also partly covers her head.

The circumambient inscription, legibly incised, runs: A(*ttulit alaba*) STRUM VNGVENTI & STANS RETRO SECUS PEDES EIUS LACRIMIS COEPIT RIGARE PEDES EIUS & CAPILLIS CAPITIS SVI TERGEB$^{A}_{T}$ —"She brought an alabaster cruse of ointment, and standing behind Him, began to bedew His feet with her tears, and she wiped His feet with the hair of her head" (Luke vii. 37, 38).

5. *The Visitation*

The fifth panel, much defaced and broken, shows two human beings, with arms clasping each other in embrace, as they stand *vis-à-vis*. They undoubtedly represent the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth. Both wear the *palla*. The descriptive letters have been too much obliterated for earlier writers to record. The most interesting feature in this panel now is the probable representation of sandals, like wooden shoon, clogs, or *sabots*, worn by the women.[1] In Egyptian pictures the strap fixing the sandal makes the sandal appear like a shoe with open mouth.

Bosio recorded a fresco, from the Cemetery of St Valentinus or Pope Julius, depicting the Visitation and embrace, and the date given is the fifth century.[2]

6. *The Archer—Eros*

The uppermost panel on the shaft depicts an archer, from a bent bow discharging a tipped barbed arrow to the right at an angle of forty-five degrees. Only the bust appears. The quiver hangs by the right side. There are indications of little wings. Mere indentations remain in place of letters. In all probability the figure represents the life-restoring Eros—Love, the symbol of Christ—and near it one would expect Psyche, represented by a phœnix. The transom of the cross, with its three panels, made to the design of Dr Duncan, as already alluded to, need only be referred to as a

[1] Clogs, made of alder wood, birch, etc., are a favourite form of foot-wear still in Dumfriesshire.

[2] *Roma Sott.*, 579; reproduced in Lundy, *Mon. Christ.*, 205.

work inartistic and not neatly corresponding with the correctly angulated fragments to which he united it. In fine, it is slightly too extended as Celtic crosses are made.

7. *The Finial: Man and Bird*

The apex of the cross has a small panel exhibiting a human figure, to all appearances being attacked or approached by an eagle-like bird. A clue to the subject is given by a few remanent letters on the edges: IN PRIN(*cipio erat ver*)BVM—a quotation from St John i. 1, "In the beginning was the Word." Probably the ideogram here is the inspired St John with his eagle. Had the face of this finial been turned to the north side, then this symbol would have been beside that of St Matthew, and the other—the phœnix—above the Archer or Eros, where naturally it should be found.

Of much importance is the segment of a circle preserved on the top stone, by which we are enabled accurately to gauge the circular panel which adorned the transom. Cf. *postea*, 39.

II.—REVERSE: NORTH FACE (Pl. XIV.)

1. *The Nativity*

Naturally one would expect a delineation of the Nativity on such a pictorial monument, and this one can, in certain lights, trace out of the damaged, weather-worn sculpture in the lowest panel of the reverse. The figures of animals remain. Professor Lethaby found on studying this Nativity panel that "to the right of this on the return was a coiled serpent." [1] A picture of the Nile-God in his cavern is encircled by a serpent.[2]

2. *The Flight into, or Return from, Egypt*

The second panel clearly exhibits the Virgin Mary, with her babe (a part of a nimbus remains) held by her left hand, as she sits with flowing robes upon an ass, whose long ears are quite discernible, as are traces of the ass's legs in the act of walking. At the left-hand corner a head and neck are shown —those of Joseph. Immediately above that head begins the inscription † MARIA ET I◇(*seph*).[3] Traces of legs and feet remain. A delicately carved curl falls on Mary's left shoulder: her square-cut mantle is seen on

[1] *Burlington Mag.*, xxi. 111, 146.
[2] *Brit. Mus. Guide to Egypt. Coll.*, 1909, 8.
[3] Cf. *postea*, 121; some consider that the object like a head may be a tree-top.

the far side, beneath the ass ; the babe is scarcely discernible. The ass's right fore-leg with hoof, and the right hind-leg with hoof, are distinct. The head of the Virgin has been cleft by iconoclasts, but sufficient remains of the profile to indicate the beauty of the face and brow which the artist conceived in stone.

3. *St Paul and St Anthony*

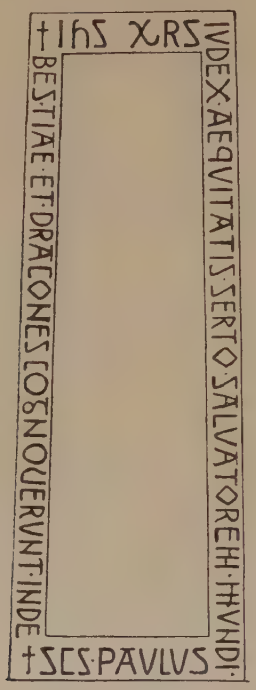
The third panel presents two full figures without the nimbus. They hold a cleft circular object in their hands as they face each other. It is a loaf being broken in twain. Their bonneted heads, or trimmed hair, are worthy of note. Over their heads the inscription runs, to the right : SCS PAVLVS ET A(*ntonius eremitæ* ?), then on the left upper corner, FREGERV(*nt*) PANEM IN DESERT◊—"Saint Paul and Anthony, the hermits, broke bread in the desert." The incident represented is related by St Jerome in his life of St Paul, the proto-hermit (228–345). When these fathers met and were talking, " a raven had settled on a branch of the palm tree, and it flew gently down and laid an entire loaf before them." . . . They contended who should break it. " At length . . . they came to terms thus, that on each one taking hold of one extremity of the loaf they should break it between them by a simultaneous effort." [1] The stone was snapped in twain just above the loaf.

4. *The Preaching Christ*

The fourth panel is filled with a noble figure of the Redeemer, 32 inches in height, distinguished by a great cruciferous nimbus incised with three rays, elegantly invested with priestly robes, and standing on the heads of two long-headed beasts. The outer robe is the *lacerna*—the garment in which Melchizedek was depicted, and which St Cyprian laid aside before his martyrdom. Underneath it appears the chasuble (*paenula*) ; on His breast appears the pallium ; and reaching to His ankles the tunic is seen. The head is beautifully moulded, and set with grace upon the neck and shoulders. A pendulous curl rests on the right shoulder ; a similar lock probably on the left. The right arm and hand are uplifted to bless ; the left hand grasps the Gospel roll. The face is bearded. The snouts of the animals touch each other : the heads are very long and the ears small. A fore-paw of each

[1] Lord Lindsay, *Sketches of Hist. of Christ. Art.*, I. cxiv. ; Migne, *Pat. Curs. Comp.*, xxiii. 25, 10, 11.

animal passes the other and thus forms a cross—X. The lettering is all but perfect still, and reads thus :



The inscription translated is : " † Jesus Christ, the judge of righteousness : wild beasts and dragons recognised the Saviour of the world in the desert." The sculptor, in copying his guide, wrongly divided the inscription as well as the word " deserto."

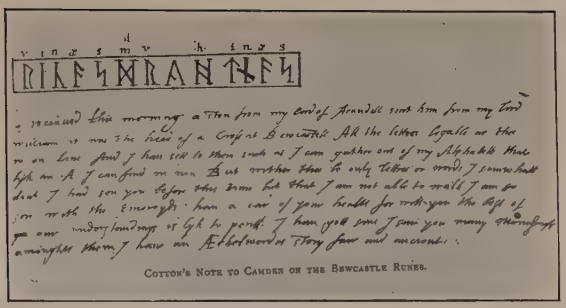
This incident is referred to in the Apocryphal Gospels.[1] The Egyptian model for this subject will be referred to afterwards.[2] The lower monolith was finished with the fourth panel.

5. *St John the Baptist carrying the Agnus Dei*

The sculpture on this, the fifth panel, is not so badly damaged as its counterpart of the south face. The full figure of a man, massive of head, with

[1] *Evangelia Apocrypha*, Tischendorf edit., Leipzig, 1876, xviii. 85, 86 : " Et ecce subito de spelunca egressi sunt multi dracones, quos videntes pueri prae nimio timore exclamaverunt. . . . Tunc Iesus . . . pedibus suis stetit ante dracones : illi autem adoraverunt eum et comitabantur cum eis in deserto."

[2] Cf. *postea* (Pl. XXV. fig. 3).



COTTON'S NOTE TO CAMDEN ON THE BEWCASTLE RUNES.

FIG. 1. Cotton's Note to Camden.

FIG. 2. Smith's Illustration of Bewcastle Cross.

FIG. 3. Smith's Illustration.

To face page 36.

its long hair, bearded, dignified with a nimbus, with his feet standing upon two orbs, is presented to view. His left arm and hand uphold the figure of a lamb whose head is encircled with a nimbus. Its left fore-leg is uplifted ; a trace of the right hind-leg is visible. The Baptist is robed in albe and chasuble. The symmetry of the figure being imperfect suggests the loss of a slice of the upper shaft where it appears broken. On the left edge the only letters now legible are (*a*)DORAMVS ; but traces of other letters are visible, and on the cast they are TNONCVM. Stephen's reading was : OENRINNR . . . DORAMVS TNON EVH.[1]

6. *St Matthew and the Angel*

The sixth panel displays two human figures facing the spectator. The upper portions of the bodies only are carved. The sculpture is wasted. The person on the right side holds a tablet or book. The other (*on the cast*) has traces of wings. The subject may be St Matthew, whose symbol was an angel. No inscription is left to indicate the theme.[2]

The cross-beam need not again be referred to, it being modern.

7. *The Finial : The Phœnix*

The top panel of the cross-head is filled with the figure of a strong-beaked bird holding in his left talon a branch laden with fruit. This undoubtedly is the Phœnix of " the Syrian Land "—emblem of the immortal soul.[3] The unassisted eye can discern deeply incised characters on the edges on either side of the bird. They resemble runes (Pl. VIII. fig. 4). The cast exhibits some of them demonstrably. But their decipherment has created a literary controversy, not yet ended, and to be treated of afterwards.[4]

III.—THE EAST SIDE

The Cross is panelled on both sides—there being four panels in all, one on each side of each of the two monoliths. The carving proceeded no farther than the neck of the Cross (Pl. XV.). The lower panel, 8 feet high, is filled with a long stem of a foliaceous, blossoming, and fruit-bearing plant, whose

[1] *Handbook*, 130, plate.

[2] The figure of a man and a bird—the symbol of St John—on the south face should stand above this figure representing St Matthew. In sequence, the lion of St Mark would have filled the left panel of the transom ; the ox of St Luke the right panel ; and the circular panel might have had a lamb for Christ.

[3] Cf. *postea*, 123.

[4] Cf. *postea*, 52–54, 105.

little branches, in sweet alternate curves, afford perches for birds and lacertine creatures which devour the blooms and grapes or figs. These floriated fruit-bearing plants, on both sides, are evidently of conventional design. The lowest part of the panel, being defaced, leaves it doubtful whether the stem was made to rise from earth or out of a "Jesse," whence sprang the symbolical Tree of Life:

> "From Jesse's root behold a Branch arise,
> Whose sacred flower with fragrance fills the skies;
> Th' etherial Spirit o'er its leaves shall move,
> And on its top descends the mystic Dove." [1]

The shorter upper panel, 30 inches high, is similarly carved with the trail of the plant, but part of the panel is a modern rough inset. All the margins are covered with runes, some no longer decipherable, others as clear as when the chisel left them, as observable in the illustrations. As will be shown in the next chapter, the runes incised on the edges of the lower shaft correspond with lines found in *The Dream of the Holy Rood*, beginning, "geredæ hinæ God almehttig," [2] and followed by "ic riicnæ kyninge." [3] The plants and fruit will also receive separate treatment.[4]

IV.—THE WEST SIDE

The west side differs in almost no respect from the east side save in a variation of the attitudes of the furred and feathered spoilers (Pl. XVI.). On both sides the carving has been, and some still is, sharply and exquisitely finished by master hands. Few monuments a thousand years of age show such loveliness of design and execution.

On the upper edge of the lower shaft, clearly visible, are the runes beginning, "Crist wæs on rodi"—"Christ was on the Cross," corresponding to lines 56–59 of *The Dream*. And these are followed by lines 62–64.

The Wheel-head

There can exist little doubt now that the Cross of Ruthwell was of a wheel-head type, and perforated in many respects similarly to those at Gosforth, Kildalton, Monasterboice, Durrow, Tuam, and other places. This hitherto unnoticed feature, or, at least, a feature which has not called forth a definite pronouncement, was noticed by Mr J. C. Montgomerie as he stood with the

[1] Isaiah xi. 1. Pope's *Messiah*.
[2] Lines 39–42. Cf. Metrical Translation, *postea*.
[3] Lines 44–49.
[4] *Postea*, 56.

author examining the fine cast of the Cross in the National Museum, Dublin, in 1912. A searching examination has brought out these facts:—a slight protuberance on the east face upon the curving of the cusp indicates that from this point there issued the segment of the wheel now destroyed. On the west side exactly opposite to this protuberance the stone bears three deep cuts, evidently the final touches of the mason with his sharp-pointed chisel when removing, at the first restoration, the unsightly rough remains of the broken-off segment of the wheel. A line drawn upward along the outer arris of the east face of the block would cut into the protuberance above referred to. The chisel cuts are visible on Mr Montgomerie's photographic illustration (Pl. XVI.). There are also indications upon the topmost stone that "improvements" have been effected there.

It was on account of the fact that Dr Duncan's mason did not understand the design of the Cross that he misplaced the top stone, and threw the curves of the lower cusps out of their places, as they now appear with broken outline. The existence of a part of the small centre circle, carved in relief upon the original finial stone now remaining, gives the true centre of the circle and wheel. Working from this, a cusp seen above the panel exhibiting St Matthew, and other points, Mr Montgomerie, after infinite trouble, has produced a unique, perfect design, which is now shown for the first time on Plate XXIV. As the Cross stood in its perfect form, probably the centre circle had an inner diameter of $14\frac{8}{16}$ inches, outer, $16\frac{1}{16}$ inches; the wheel, inner diameter, $29\frac{9}{16}$ inches, outer, $38\frac{2}{16}$ inches; from the centre to the apex, 20 inches; and across the transom, 40 inches.

The Sandstone

The rock from which the Ruthwell Cross was made is a compact indurated New Red Sandstone found in the parish of Ruthwell. The Permian Series of brick-red sandstones extends from Cumberland through the Nith valley into Ayrshire. In Mid-Nithsdale grey calciferous sandstones, quarried at Auchenknight, near Drumlanrig, and King's Quarry, Carronbridge, have long been in use for building purposes. The stone is hard, full of large angular pieces of quartz and glimmerings of mica. Of the same formation, but much finer in texture, with less angular and more water-worn pieces of quartz, and tiny points of mica, is the sandstone rock of Ruthwell, which has assumed a dark red hue owing to the deeper infiltration of ferric oxide. In the same bed both the lighter and the darker shades of stone are found, so that

both the lower [1] and upper parts of the shaft may be out of the same quarry. The rock visible at Clarencefield is lighter in shade than that found north-west of Ruthwell Station, not far from a house on land with the significant, probably reminiscent, name of Crossgills. About 1849–50 a quarry was opened by a railway contractor at a spot about 300 yards north of the station. The stone is of indigo-pink colour, turning grey after exposure. Here in the Glen (Gill) of the Cross could the Dream of the Rood become realised upon stone. A competent authority, Mr James Barbour, architect, Dumfries, found that the freestone dressings on the Castle of Comlongon, in Ruthwell, as to colour and texture, were of the identical material out of which the Cross was formed. Of the Cross he writes : It " differs in colour and in general appearance from the common Dumfriesshire red stone. It is a hard sandstone, of coarse texture, and a purplish-grey colour, marked with glimmerings of mica. . . . The formation of the stone is chiefly silica cemented with oxide of iron ; the predominance of the latter occasions the blood-red stain described. Lime appears to be absent. In comparison with the Cross, the piece of stone obtained at the quarry near the Ruthwell railway station is perceptibly darker in colour, and also perhaps closer in texture ; but these apparent differences are not greater than may be accounted for by the bleaching and wasting incident to the Cross through the long exposure to which it has been subjected. . . . The piece of stone before referred to is of the same formation as the Cross. . . . The facts stated are, I submit, fairly conclusive of the stone having been obtained from a local quarry ; and it follows that in all probability the Cross was sculptured and first set up in the vicinity where it stands." [2] Ruthwell Cross weighs three tons and a half.[3]

II.—DESCRIPTION OF BEWCASTLE OBELISK OR CROSS

This elegant memorial is a monolith in obeliscal form, free-standing, and sculptured on four sides. It is made out of a light red sandstone. The top of the shaft is slightly broken, and a fragment is amissing. There was a cavity on the apex, measuring 8½ inches square and 7½ inches deep, which

[1] The lower part of the shaft has all the appearance of a carboniferous sandstone of a kind which is found in Dalton parish. The old church of Dalton is built out of stone similar to that of Ruthwell Cross.

[2] " Regarding the Origin of the Ruthwell Cross," in *The Transactions of Dumfries and Gall. Nat. Hist. and Antiq. Soc.*, No. 16 (1899–1900), 30, 31. The writer agrees with Mr Barbour in his conclusion.

[3] *Cf.* Appendix IV., p. 173.

is now filled with cement. It may have been a mortise for fixing a finial such as a cross, or a Mithraic cone, like those to be seen in the museums at Chesters (Northumberland) and Carlisle. A pine cone was used as a finial and a symbol above early Christian fountains, and examples are preserved in Aachen and old St Peter's, Rome. The remains on the top of the stone of carved gutters, similar to those on Roman altars, suggest a purpose in keeping with sacrifice.

The lofty shaft, fixed with lead in a massive base, 4 feet square, stands about 14½ feet high, measures on the west side 22 inches, by 21 inches on the north side at the base, and tapers towards the top, where it measures 14 inches by 13 inches.[1] The head of that cross sent to Camden, measuring 16 inches by 12 inches by 4 inches, already referred to,[2] could not therefore have fitted this obelisk.[3] The monument, in its graceful proportions, resembles the beautiful obelisk dedicated to Thoth in 378 B.C., and brought from Cairo to the British Museum.[4] It differs from the Ruthwell Cross in having the edges rounded away to form a bead 2⅛ inches in diameter. In this respect it resembles an early stele of Heru and Sutui of Thebes (1600 B.C.).[5]

Panels

Like the Cross at Ruthwell, this Obelisk is on each side divided into compartments; the west face having three panels, the north five, the east one, and the south five, if not six, panels. These panels display, carved in bold relief, human and animal figures, fruit-bearing plants, and geometric designs. Except for the geometric designs, beading on the edges, and the circular tops of two panels, the Obelisk resembles the Ruthwell Cross in many striking ways, and may also have been a Cross.[6]

I.—THE WEST FACE

1. *The Huntsman and Hawk*

The lowest panel, which is round-headed, measures 40 inches high, 16½ inches broad at the bottom, and 15½ inches at the top (Pl. XVII.). It

[1] The square base is rounded at the corners. The writer measured the monolith on 27th June 1913 and found it to be 14 feet 3½ inches in height from base to top. The base measures 4 feet square. Lysons' measurement of the cavity is 7½ inches by 5½ inches.

[2] *Antea*, 21.

[3] Two slabs incised with crosses are preserved at the church door of Bewcastle.

[4] *Guide to Egypt. Coll.*, pl. xlvi., 265. The twin obelisks in black basalt measure about 9 feet by 17½ inches by 16½ inches each at the base, and 11 inches or 12 inches at top. They are numbered 919, 930, Bay 31, Egyptian Room.

[5] *Ibid.*, 239, Bay 9, 475.

[6] Cf. *postea*, pp. 76, 151.

shows in high relief the figure of a tall man, without a nimbus, standing beside an altar or pedestal, grasping with his lowered right hand a rod or pole, and having apparently perched on his levelled left arm a bird—a hawk, or an eagle—measuring 9 inches by 5. The carving is too much defaced to warrant a description of his robe. There is no explanatory title. The subject, matter for conjecture, is considered afterwards.[1]

2. *The Runic Inscription and Tablet.*

Between the lower and middle panels a flat space, measuring 32 inches high and from 17 inches to 15½ inches broad, had been left obviously as a tablet for the inscription found upon it, incised in nine lines, with about twelve runes in each line. These characters vary in definiteness, some being much detrited and obscured. Their value and import will be examined again.[2] The runes measure from 2¾ inches to 3 inches in height.[3]

3. *The Christ Blessing*

The second panel, also round-headed,[4] measuring 47 inches high, and in breadth from 14 to 12 inches, displays a boldly conceived figure of the Saviour, almost a replica of that upon the Ruthwell Cross, with nimbus, uplifted right hand, the roll, feet upon the heads of beasts, and other similarities. He is robed in albe, chasuble, and pallium. Above His head, upon a broad margin, are incised legible runes in two lines :

ᛏ ᛝ ᛗ ᛋ ᛋ ᚢ ᛋ
ᛘ ᚱ ᛁ ᛋ ᛏ ᛏ ᚢ ᛋ

i.e. ✝ Gessus Kristtus, Jesus Christ. Christ's figure is 39 inches in height. The three-rayed nimbus is 8 inches in diameter.

4. *St Cuthbert with St Oswald's Head*

The third panel is in rectangular form, and is 34 inches in height. The figure within it is that of a man, bearded, without a nimbus, robed in albe, chasuble, and probably a stole (the feet are not seen), and holding in his left

[1] Cf. *postea*, 102.

[2] Cf. *postea* (Pl. XXII.).

[3] Haigh asserted they were "nearly *six* inches long" on the north face! *Arch. Æliana*, i. (N.S.) 152.

[4] Many of the panels on early Coptic sepulchral tablets have semicircular heads: *Guide Egypt. Coll. Brit. Mus.*, 278–284. The shrine dedicated to Osiris by Pa-Suten-Sa (2300 B.C.) displays, carved in relief, the god standing in a round-headed niche, the margins being covered with descriptive hieroglyphics. Brit. Mus., N. Egypt. Gallery, Bay 1, No. 174.

Bewcastle Cross: West Face.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 42.

hand an object 6 inches long, encircled with a nimbus 5 inches in diameter. Authorities differ as to what the subject is, and what the object borne also is. Nicolson, Smith, Hutchinson, and others have considered the figure to represent the Virgin Mary carrying the Holy Child; Maughan, Calverley, and later writers concluded that it was St John the Baptist bearing the *Agnus Dei*. On this point Professor Cook, relying "upon personal examination and photographs specially made," writes: "The man wearing beard and moustache, clothed in tunic and mantle, supports a lamb on his left arm, which is concealed by the draped mantle. . . . The man appears to hold the lamb by its fore-legs: the hind-legs seem doubled beneath it. The animal wears a nimbus, and is facing the man's right." [1] Armstrong delineated the figure of a mitred ecclesiastic.[2] Lysons saw a female holding in her arm the Holy Lamb.[3] The somewhat similar figures on Ruthwell Cross have each a nimbus.

There are certain distinctions on this figure which lead me to infer that it represents St Cuthbert, carrying in his left hand the head of St Oswald. The head, without a nimbus, is covered with a low head-dress—an early mitre or a shepherd's cap. The priestly dress is unusual for the Baptist. There are indications of the stole. The supposed lamb, although the head encircled with a nimbus seems well executed, is unique in being represented upright, instead of being shown standing, as on the Ruthwell Cross, or lying. A beautifully executed statuette of St Cuthbert, in his episcopal robes, and carrying in his left hand the head of St Oswald, still remains *in situ* on the east gable of Melrose Abbey (Pl. V. fig. 3). Stained-glass windows in the Abbey Church of Durham, York Cathedral, and Edenhall Church also represented a similar collocation.[4]

Maughan found three letters on the margin above this panel, namely,

[1] Cook, *The Date*, etc., 236 (24).

[2] *The London Magazine*, xliv. 388: "At the top of that face is a figure with a mitre."

[3] *Magna Britannia*, iv. cxcix.

[4] According to the *Rites of Durham*, several windows in the Abbey Church of Durham pictured St Cuthbert with the head of St Oswald in his left hand or painted on his breast: Eyre, *St Cuthbert*, 284, 285. York had a similar window: *ibid.*, 287. In Edenhall Church, till 1808, a window with Cuthbert blessing with his right hand, holding a pastoral staff in his left, and having St Oswald's crowned head resting on his left arm, was preserved: *ibid.*, 288, citing Lysons' *Cumberland*, 192. I found Lysons' sketch of the Edenhall window among his drawings in the British Museum: No. 9462, fol. 152, 153. In the same volume Lysons preserved a sketch of the Baptist carrying the lamb, as he interpreted the figures on Bewcastle Obelisk: fol. 113*b*. His drawings are well-finished works drawn to scale.

The arms of the burgh of Kirkcudbright are: "A lymphad with the sail furled, in the stern St Cuthbert seated, holding on his knees the head of the martyr, St Oswald."

ᚼᚾᛊ, KSS, which he imagined formed part of the word KRISTUS.[1] The scratches are no longer decipherable.

II.—THE EAST FACE

The whole shaft on the east side has one compartment, from base to top filled with a curving and alternately recurving stem of a leaf-, flower-, and fruit-bearing plant, upon which in the curves are exhibited devouring birds and lacertine creatures (Pl. XIX.). The conception, design, and execution are similar to those illustrated on the Cross at Ruthwell. The depth of the carving is $\frac{6}{8}$ of an inch.

III.—THE NORTH FACE

The north face has five panels, each filled with a different design (Pl. XX.).

1. The lowest panel shows an exquisite design of two plants, broad-leaved, flowering with fan-like blooms, rising in triple curves to meet each other, and in the heart-shaped centre intertwined. On the margin above this design appears a line of runes, which Maughan [2] deciphered as ᚼᚢᚾᚾᛒᚢᚱᚦᚷ, KYNNBUR(THU)G; Kemble,[3] CYNIBURUG; Bishop Browne,[4] KÜNNBURUG; the present writer, ᛊKUNIBURG or KUNIBURG (Pl. XXIII. fig. 1).

2. The second panel is occupied by a very simple but effective pattern of interlaced work formed out by a fourteen-cord plait. Above this panel are indistinct runes, which Maughan, however, thus interpreted: ᚼᚢᚾᛖᚴᚹᛁᚦᚠ, KYNESWI(TH)A.[5]

3. The third or middle panel displays a splendid example of chequer-work—twenty-five series of checks, four to the line—making a collection of little Greek crosses. Maughan's reading of the indistinct runes above this panel is ᛗᚢᚱᚴᚾᚪᚠ ᚼᚢᚾᚷ, MYRCNA KYNG, King of Mercians.[6]

4. The fourth panel contains another interlaced design formed by a sixteen-cord plait. On the margin above, Maughan made out ᚹᚢᛚᚠᚻᛖᚱᛖ, WULFHERE.[7]

[1] *Memoir*, 14. This panel measures 41 by 15 by 14 inches. The margin is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad. The depth of the carving is $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Size of flower, 11 inches by 4 inches: number of, 9 or 10.

[2] *Memoir*, 28.

[3] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 347.

[4] *The Conversion*, etc., 209.

[5] *Memoir*, 29. It measures 18 by 14 by 13 inches.

[6] *Ibid.*, 29. It measures $39\frac{1}{2}$ by 13 to 11 inches; chequers $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch deep.

[7] *Ibid.*, 29. It measures $10\frac{1}{2}$ by $11\frac{1}{4}$ to $10\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

5. The fifth panel has a flower- and fruit-bearing plant, with curving stem and recurving branches, from which hang bunches of fruit, probably grapes. The flowers are of conventional design in all the panels. The broken inscription found on the top panel by Maughan ran : ᚾᛏᚾᛝᛖᛋᛋ ᚱᚺ, ᚾᛏᚾ ᛝᛖᛋᛋᚢᛋ, *i.e.* ᛏᛏᛏ GESSUS.[1]

Above this panel is a small portion of the shaft, on some sides showing fluting, similar to what appears on the tablet of Ameni.[2] Two corners are broken off.

IV.—THE SOUTH FACE

The southern side of the Obelisk is divided into five rectangular panels, all filled with different designs (Pl. XVIII.).

1. The lowest panel has an ornament of interlaced work of intricate character, made by a double eight-cord plait, with no extra cords.

On the edge above this design are traces of an inscription, which, according to Maughan, Bishop Browne, and others, reads : ᚾᚠᚱᚢᚫᚠᚾᛝᛖᚠᚱ, FRUMANGEAR, which signifies "in the first year." [3]

2. The second panel contains an exquisite design formed by two vine stems, which, starting at the two lower corners, rise obliquely, curving twice, cross each other, thus forming a figure eight, and end in two lovely blooms. The unoccupied spaces are chastely filled with flowers and clusters of grapes. On the margin above Maughan made out the letters signifying KYNINGES, *i.e.* "King." [4]

3. The third panel has a simpler ornament of interlaced plait. It is a double four-cord plait, or eight-cord plait, without extra cords. On the margin above this design Maughan deciphered RICES(TH)ÆS, "of this Kingdom." [5]

4. The fourth panel is remarkable for the combination of a floral and geometric design in the formation of the ornamental subject. A fruit-bearing plant with curving and recurving stem, from which on either side droop peculiarly beautiful flowers, ends in a grape cluster or torch-like flower, and two leaves crowned with a bunch of fruit. The lower half of one of the curves is occupied by a sun-dial, wanting the gnomon. The dial is in

[1] *Memoir*, 30. It measures 44½ by 10 to 9 inches.

[2] Brit. Mus., I. Egypt. Room, No. 245 [235].

[3] *Memoir*, 27 ; Browne, *The Conversion*, etc., 208. The size of the panel is 26 by 16 to 15½ inches ; margin 2 inches. The depth of the carving is ⅝ of an inch.

[4] *Memoir*, 27. The panel measures 45½ by 15¼ to 13 inches.

[5] *Ibid.*, 27. This panel measures 18½ by 12½ to 11½ inches.

semicircular form, like those found in Borcovicus (on the Roman Wall), Alexandria, Herculaneum, and Orchomenes, and like others extant in Old Byland, Kirkdale, and Edstone, all in Yorkshire, which have inscriptions.[1] In the Appendix to Cooper's report on the *Fœdera* there is an illustration of an eighth-century horologe with twelve divisions.[2]

The Bewcastle dial is divided into four spaces by five principal lines, two of which are incised with crosses at the points to indicate tierce (9 a.m.) and sext (mid-day), according to the octaval system of the Angles. The four spaces are again subdivided to mark the twelve-hour day.

In the panel the blooms are those of a unique flower or plant, hitherto of unascertained variety. On the margin above, Maughan found the runes : ᛖᚳᚷᚠᚱᛁᚦ, ECGFRITHU, "Ecgfrith." [3]

5. The fifth panel displays a simple pattern of interlaced work formed by a six-cord plait, without extra cords. Above it were runes read by Maughan : ᛚᛁᚳᛖ····, LICE . . . . , "a dead body." [4]

Above the beading round this panel and the apex of the cross there are appearances of carving on another panel, but this portion of the shaft on the right corner is broken off.

The Sandstone

The sandstone block out of which the Obelisk at Bewcastle is sculptured is of a light red hue, of less hard material than that of Ruthwell, less gritty, and rich in tiny pieces of mica. Maughan drew attention to a huge block of sandstone on a long ridge of rocks called the Langbar, "on an extensive, and still unenclosed waste called White Lyne Common, about five miles from Bewcastle Church . . . nearly 15 feet in length, and which is the very counterpart of the Bewcastle Obelisk in a rude and undressed state . . . unquestionably twins from one and the same parent." [5] Maughan also stated that the marks made by the wedges of the quarriers were still visible on the Langbar block. The block in question measures 16 feet 5 inches in length, and varies in breadth and thickness, in its obeliscal form, from 26 inches by 25 inches at the base, 30 inches by 21 inches in the middle, to

[1] Hübner, *Inscript. Brit.*, 65, 66. The panel measures 49½ by 11½ to 9½ inches.

[2] *Fœdera*, App. A, 116: pl. cxcii. fol. 237, *Codice Augiensi*, "Orologium Viatorum." The radius of the Bewcastle dial is 5½ inches.

[3] *Memoir*, 26.

[4] *Memoir*, 26. The panel measures 14 by 9½ to 9 inches.

[5] *Memoir*, 10, n. 14.

19 inches by 11 inches at the top of the block [1] (Pl. XXIII. fig. 2). The sandstone is fairly hard and workable, of smallest grain, and having only infinitesimal points of mica in its substance. When weathered the surface becomes exceedingly hard and of a dark colour. The material is, however, of a consistent light red colour. The proximity of similar blocks of a large size lying upon one another in confusion suggests that all have been cleft by the action of water and frost, and not by implements, there being evidence also of the existence in the rock of what workmen term "a natural dry," which split this monolith off a larger stone, still lying beside it. On a neighbouring ridge and crest, called Christianbury, north-west of Langbar (1598 feet), the rock becomes so detrited by storms into the finest sand that the peasantry often used it for making "strakes," for sharpening scythes. The Obelisk, however, is of a more compact indurated sandstone than that found on Langbar, and fragments of similar rock picked up by the writer near Crossgreens (a most significant name in this connection), three-quarters of a mile north of the church, indicate that the Bewcastle sculptors, like those at Ruthwell, had not far to travel to find stone suitable for their purpose.

The sandstones out of which the two crosses were fabricated are hard and tough, and peculiarly suitable for the preservation of sculptured objects and inscriptions. The sandstone of Ruthwell has all the characteristics of stone that has been subjected to a great heat after stratification. That of Bewcastle, being of a finer texture, was more easily carved.

The Obelisk weighs two tons eight cwt. approximately.[2]

[1] The writer, accompanied by Mr J. C. Montgomerie, measured and photographed the Langbar stone on 27th June 1913. By road and moorland Langbar is $5\frac{3}{4}$ miles distant from the church—3 being moorland.

[2] Cf. Appendix IV., p. 173.

CHAPTER IV

THE INSCRIPTIONS

I.—The Latin-Saxon Letters upon Ruthwell Cross

The inscriptions in Latin on Ruthwell Cross are incised in majuscule letters of the Latin-Saxon type (for the most part) in use in England for several centuries. There are two letters which may be considered minuscules, namely, ꝺ and h. The alphabet is as follows:—

†AAAA B C D E E F ꝺ h I L L L M M M N N O O P Q R S T U X &

It is asserted that the form of these letters is characteristic of those in use in the latter part of the seventh century, and that they bear a close resemblance to those inscribed upon the coffin of St Cuthbert and upon the wood of his portable altar, as well as to those worked upon the stole and maniple of St Frithestan (931), with which King Æthelstan invested the body of St Cuthbert, and to others in the *Textus Sancti Cuthberti*, or Lindisfarne Gospels.[1] The admission of these facts is of help in determining the date of the making of the Cross. Letters identical in form, but carved in relief, are seen on a cross-slab (No. 10) in Tarbat, Ross-shire, and are styled Hiberno-Saxon.[2] Similar letters are cut on the Ardagh chalice, the Cross of Samson at Llantwit-Major in Wales, and on the Alnmouth Cross.

The Latin-Saxon letters on Ruthwell Cross measure 2 inches high.

Many of these letters believed to be archaic were in use in the tenth century. A reference to Astle's *The Origin and Progress of Writing*[3] will prove the long continuance of archaic styles.

A (form 1) is in a charter of King Eadmund (944).[4]

A (1, 2, 3) is struck on coins of the York Hoard (905–940).[5]

[1] Raine, *St Cuthbert*, 50 *et seq.*, pls. i., ii., iii., vi.; Greenwell, *A Catal. of Stones . . . Durham* 133–156, with plates; *Burlington Magazine*, April 1913, xxiii. (cxxi.), 3–17.

[2] J. R. Allen, *Early Christ. Mon.*, iii. 94, pl. 96A.

[3] Astle, Lond., 1784.

[4] *Ibid.*, 112, Tab. xxi. No. 11.

[5] Grueber, *Handbook of the Coinage of Great Britain*, 21, pl. iv. Nos. 116, 117, 120, 122; 27, Nos. 159, 160.

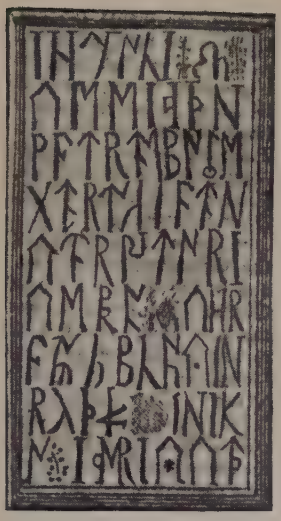


Fig. 1. Smith's Reading.

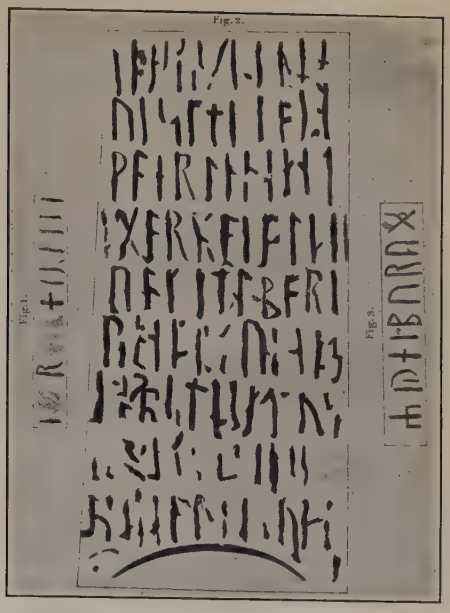


Fig. 2. Howard's Reading.

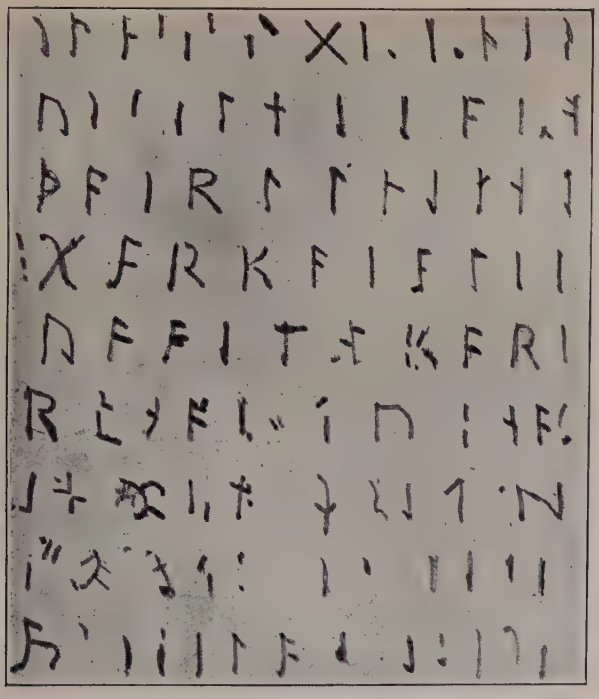


Fig. 3. Lysons' Reading (from MS., British Museum).

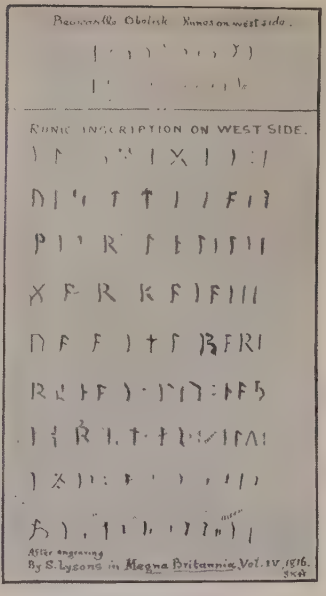


Fig. 4. Lysons' Reading.

Readings of Runes on Bewcastle Cross.

To face page 48.

C (5). This form of C is found in a Bede MS. (*Miracles of St Cuthbert*) of the ninth century.[1] It also appears on the maniple of St Frithestan nearly a century later.

F (9) appears in Augustine's *Exposition of Revelation*, ordered to be written by St Dunstan *circa* 940–962.[2]

G (10). This minuscule G is found in the Gospels of Abbot MacDurnan (885–927) which King Æthelstan gave to Canterbury. It is now in Lambeth Palace Library. Astle reproduces it from a charter by St Dunstan (940–962) as a minuscule, but as a majuscule in a Winchester MS. (855–867).[3] The loop is not closed in either example. It is found closed in deeds dated before 888 and in 986.

H (11). The minuscule h for the majuscule H is common in late MSS. It appears among the majuscules on the Tarbat Stone.[4]

M (16). This form of M, used by Pelasgians, Oscans, and Etruscans, was common in the eighth century. It appears on the title-page of MacDurnan's Gospels (885–927). It does not appear among Hübner's early inscriptions.

N (20). The archaic N, like M, still appears in charters of the tenth century.

O (22). The early diagonal form of O is found on St Peter's coins minted in York (919–940).[5]

S (26). The antique form of S, common in the seventh century, and in use in the eighth century, is also displayed upon the tenth-century stole and maniple of St Frithestan, as well as upon the coinage of King Æthelstan († 940).[6] The only abbreviated word, apart from IhS and XRS, is ET or CUM, which is represented by an old Tironian sign like an inverted Ↄ, or, as in this case, by a letter like ꝫ, or the numeral 9. These Tironian signs were used down to the eleventh century.[7]

Professor W. R. Lethaby, in an article on "The Ruthwell Cross," writes: "I would point to one rather remarkable coincidence regarding the contractions IHS, XRS. On the Ruthwell Cross the Greek H is improperly represented by the letter h."[8] On the other hand, Sir E. M. Thompson points out that "the name of Jesus Christ was always written in Greek letters by mediæval scribes, and in contracted form ꟾ H̄C X̄PC in Greek uncials.

[1] Astle, *The Origin*, etc., xix. i.; Hübner, *Inscript.*, 83.
[2] Astle, *The Origin*, etc., 106, Tab. xix. v.
[3] *Ibid.*, xix. v. iii.
[4] J. R. Allen, *Early Christ. Mon.*, 94, fig. 96A.
[5] Grueber, *Handbook*, 21, No. 122.
[6] *Ibid.*, pl. v. No. 159.
[7] Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*, 85.
[8] *Burlington Mag.*, 1912, xxi. (cxi.) 145.

When these words had to be written in minuscule letters the scribes treated them as purely Latin words written in Latin letters, and transcribed them ihc (or ihs) xpc. Hence arose the idea that the form Ihesus was the correct one, and by false analogy the letter h was introduced into other proper names, as Iherusalem, Iheronimus." [1] Further, in later times IhS was supposed to mean "Jesus Hominum Salvator"—"Jesus Saviour of Men." Astle gives an example of ihū xp̄i, of date 944, in a charter where the letter N is also of an archaic type.[2] In fine, all the Latin-Saxon alphabet used by the Ruthwell sculptor was in use in the middle of the tenth century.

II.—The Runes

Runes were used by Old Germans, Angles, Jutes, Danes, Swedes, and Norwegians. The Runic alphabet, or Futhorc, so called from the first seven letters, is probably of Teutonic origin in South-eastern Europe about the end of the first century A.D. Runic characters are not identical in the four forms in which the alphabet appears—Early or Gothic, Anglian, Scandinavian, and Manx. The only letters identical in all the forms are R, I, and L; U, TH, and T are nearly identical; others vary considerably. The form in use generally in England from the seventh century onwards was what is known as Anglian, consisting of twenty-four characters, to which four additional letters were added. In Scandinavia the numbers decreased, and the Vikings used sixteen letters.[3] The alphabet inscribed upon a large iron knife found in the Thames in 1857, and now preserved in the British Museum, consisted of twenty-eight letters, representing, namely, F, U, Th, O, R, C, G, W, H, N, I, Y, YO, P, A, S, T, B, E, NG, D, L, M, Œ, Á, Æ, Ü (Y), EA.[4] The date assigned to this relic is the fifth or sixth century. On Ruthwell Cross twenty of these letters appear: Y, YO, A, S, D, Œ and Ü are not found in the same form on the Ruthwell Cross. The letter P does not appear on the Cross. The alphabet in the Codex Exoniensis is not quite identical with the Ruthwell runes. Modifications of various letters are seen on stones in different parts of England. A MS. preserved in St Gall (878)

[1] Thompson, *Greek and Latin Palæography*, 102.

[2] Astle, 112, pl. xxi.

[3] U. W. Dieterich, *Runen-Sprach-Schatz*, Stockholm, 1844, v. x.: viz.: F, U, Th, O, R, K, H, N, I, A, S, T, B, L, M, R. *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, ii. 369. Karl Oberleitner, *Die Runendenkmäler des Nordens*, 47, gives nineteen primitive characters.

[4] Stephens, *Handbook of the Old Northern Monuments*, etc., Lond., 1884, 111, with illust.; *Old North. Run. Mon.*, 361, iii. 159.

contains what is termed therein *Abecedarium Nord*, a table of the Northern runes, which is almost identical with the Anglian series ; while another MS. (270) has runes showing slight variations.[1] These codices, showing runes in use in the ninth century, may have been left in St Gall when the embassy of Kynewald, bishop of Worcester, visited the monastery in 929[2] (Pl. XXI. fig. 1).

Runes are found on some Mercian coins (Sceats) so early as the time of Peada (655), on East Anglian coins down to Æthelbert's time (794), on Northumbrian coins till Eanred's time (807–841) ; and while all the letters may not have been used past the beginning of the tenth century, a few of the Runic characters are found on coins subsequent to the Norman Conquest.[3] According to Taylor, the runes were officially superseded in Denmark and Iceland in the fourteenth century, in Sweden in the eleventh, and in England " at a much earlier time." [4] A sandstone cross shaft, carved with rude figures and interlaced designs, which was unearthed in Chester-le-Street, is inscribed with the word " Eadmund " above a horse and its rider bearing a shield.[5] Five of the letters at least are Roman, two, M and N, are Anglian runes, and the U may be either a Latin capital or a rune. The relic probably commemorates the victory of Eadmund the Elder in 941–2, when he regained Northumbria from the Northmen.

Anglian runes are found on two stones in the Isle of Man : of the many other Runic inscriptions found there the characters are of Scandinavian origin. According to Mr Kermode, quoting Dr E. Brate of Stockholm, " with the exception of Michael, 104, the Runic alphabet of John the Priest, Maughold, was used through the whole Runic period of the Isle of Man." [6] The letters B, H, S are new forms ; the runes A, O, N, A, T have their distinguishing strokes on one side only ; the sixteenth rune, R, is not found except in one specimen at Andreas.[7] The variations exemplified in the Manx alphabet are not represented at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, and it may be concluded that Manx sculptors had no share in the erection of the Northumbrian crosses.

Few Runic inscriptions have been found in Ireland, two only being known

[1] Cooper, *Report on Rymer's Fœdera*, P. Record Office, 1869, pls. ii., iii., 85, 86.

[2] Stubbs, *St Dunstan*, lxxv ; Müllers, *Geschichte der Schweitz*, i. 282.

[3] Keary and Poole, *Catal. Eng. Coins* (Anglo-S. series), 1887, Introd., lxxxiv–ix ; i. 146 : Grueber, *Handbook*, 1889, 3, 11.

[4] Taylor, *Greeks and Goths*, Lond., 1879, 89.

[5] Stephens, *Handbook*, 246, 247, illust.

[6] P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, Lond., 1907, 78.

[7] *Ibid.*, pl. xxxix., 165.

at present. The runes inscribed upon a bronze fragment of a sword found near Castle-Bellingham are of a Scandinavian type.[1] We may further hypothesise that Hibernian artists were not called in to fabricate these wonderful monuments.

There are also Cryptic runes and Bind-runes. In the latter form several characters may be joined together on a single stem or letter, as is illustrated on a stone at Andreas,[2] and on the generally accepted reading of the Bewcastle inscription whereon TH conjoined with U appears.[3] But in Smith's reading of the same inscription at Bewcastle there were at least eight such composites in 1741. None appear on the Ruthwell Cross.

The characters now visible upon both monuments are represented in the following alphabet :—

These Runic letters are all carefully incised and measure (on an average) on the Ruthwell Cross 2½ inches in height, or thereby,[4] and on the Bewcastle Obelisk from 2¾ inches to 3 inches in height.[5] On the Ruthwell Cross the runes are cut in sets of two, three, and four letters, except on the top margins, and they descend vertically in twenty-eight lines on narrow edges. An unfinished tablet on the south side has been prepared for an inscription similar to that seen on the Bewcastle stone, where in every instance the runes follow each other laterally in lines.

1. *The Runes on Ruthwell Cross*

Representations of the main inscriptions appear in the dissertations on the subject by Gordon, Hickes, Gough, Duncan, Kemble, Stephens, Bishop Browne, and others. It has long been alleged that Runic characters were visible on the top-stone of the Cross, running vertically on two margins of the apex.[6] In certain lights these are still visible, but the present writer is of opinion that manipulation has rendered the characters uncertain. Car-

[1] Coffey, *Guide to Celt. Antiq. in Dublin*, Dublin, 1910, 93.

[2] Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 162, pl. xxxvii.

[3] Calverley, *Notes on Early Sculpt. Crosses*, 44 ; Collingwood, *Victoria Hist. of Cumberland*, 1901, i. 278.

[4] Some horizontal letters on the east side measure 1¾ inches ; other vertical letters vary from 2¼ inches to 2⅝ inches.

[5] Haigh made the runes " nearly six inches long " : *Arch. Æliana*, i. (N.S.), 1857, 152.

[6] Now turned to the north side.

PLATE XII.

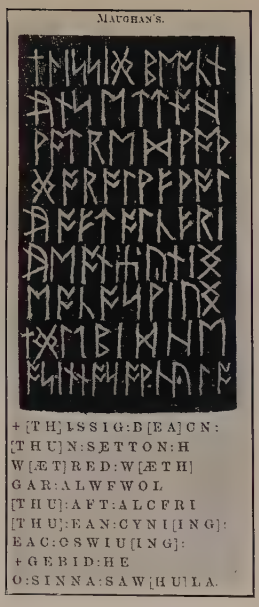


FIG. 1. Maughan's.

FIG. 2. Haigh's.

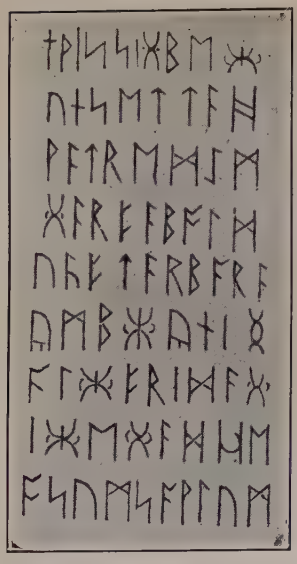


FIG. 3. Canon Taylor's.

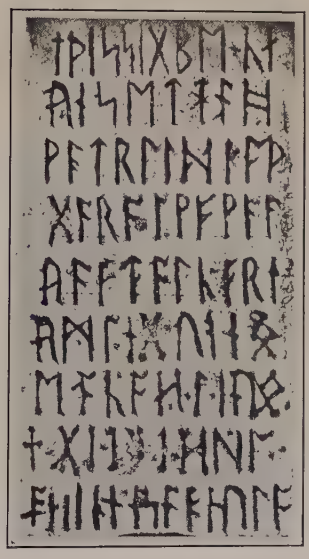


FIG. 4. Calverley and Collingwood's.

READINGS OF BEWCASTLE RUNES.

To face page 52.

donnel drew the inscription for Gough reading on the right side ICCÆDMON, and on the left margin ÆFNRODO.[1] Magnusen, however, read the inscription thus : OFA VODO KHONMED, which he translated into " Offa, Woden's kinsman." Kemble threw ridicule on Magnusen's attempt to decipher the runes given by Cardonnel ; and, unfortunately for himself, asserted that "no one here has ever heard of such an engraving," and further declared : " The capitals on which the professor finds the words Offa, Vodo, Erincred, show no traces now of such characters, nor are there any Runic characters whatever on the faces of the pillar to which those capitals belong." [2] Stephens promptly and amusingly put Kemble right, and reprinted Cardonnel's sketch of the disputed words.[3] Stephens read "on the right side ᛋᚴᛗᛗᚠᛏ, CADMON ; and on the left side ᛗᚫᚠᚪᚢᚩᚦᚹ, MÆFAUŒTHO, that is, the MÆ being a bind-rune, CADMON ME FAWED (made)." [4]

Haigh wrote to Stephens, as recorded by the latter, under date October 4, 1863, giving the runes as " CADMON MAE FAUOETHO, exactly as I have given." [5] Bugge transcribed them as GODMON MAE FA^{E}/$_{O}$THO.[6] Vigfusson's emendation was KEDMÂ MA FA (or Æ) UÓO.[7] The student is fortunate in having a drawing of the letters by the careful artist who, in 1867, illustrated Dr Stuart's *Sculptured Stones of Scotland*, wherein they are exhibited thus : [8] ᚺᚢᚻᚾᚦᚦ· ᚴᚱ…ᚠᚢᚱᚦᚠ. An interpretation is impossible.

In 1887 Mr G. F. Black, in a letter to *The Academy*, recorded the results of an examination, saying that he found "the name Cædmon has all but disappeared, being represented by five perpendicular strokes. The other words *mæ fœutho* are quite distinct with the exception of the last *o* in *fœutho*, which is not so clear." [9] In 1890 Mr G. F. Browne, now Bishop of Bristol, after many examinations of the runes, declared : "I have always been a little sceptical about the *Kadmon mæ fauœtho* on the topmost key, but the *mæ fauœtho* is certainly there. The *Kadmon* I could not make out." But after repeated tests he stated : "Thus I got without at all intending to do so ' ✝Kedmon.' " [10] In 1897 Bishop Browne stated : " I read the runes which form Cædmon's name

[1] *Vetusta Monumenta*, pls. 54, 55.
[2] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 371.
[3] Stephens, *The Ruthwell Cross*, 9, 46, plates.
[4] *Ibid.*, 17 ; *Handbook*, 132.
[5] *Bugge, Studies of Northern Mythology, examined by Stephens*, Edin., 1883, 357. Haigh also sent the inscription to Kemble.
[6] Bugge, *Studien über . . . Götter u. Helden Sagen*, 1889, S. 495.
[7] Vigfusson, *Icelandic Prose Reader*, 444.
[8] Vol. ii. 12–16, pl. xx.
[9] 1 Oct. 1887, No. 804, 225.
[10] *The Academy*, 8 Mar. 1890, No. 931, 170–171.

in a manner different from that of earlier investigators . . . my reading of the passage with Cædmon's name is † *Kedmon mæ fauodho*, which is said to mean, 'Cædmon made me'; . . . whether Cædmon was the poet or sculptor no one can say." [1] Still positive in 1898, Bishop Browne averred: "Their presence has been denied: but they are there. . . . My reading is † KEDMON MAE FAUOETHO." [2]

A minute analysis of the inscribed characters led Wilhelm Vietor, after a comparative study of the various readings, to offer the following reading:

: R ? D (D ?) Æ þ (:)
(M͡Æ ?) (F) AYR þO.

This interpretation, without any reference to the meaning of the words, forced him to conclude that, while *Kadmon* or *Kedmon* was untenable, the residual letters might produce YRþO = WYRþO: a *gloria in excelsis* on the top of the Cross (Pl. VIII. fig. 4).[3] He thought the Cross earlier than 750.[4]

Professor Albert S. Cook writes: "Summing up the evidence, then, the indications are as follows. . . . Cædmon's name has never been on the cross." [5] On the other hand, the mysterious characters so impressed Mr M'Farlan that "he carried the top of the monument, the precious part which bears Cædmon's name, into the manse for safety, and he rose more than once during that night and went out to keep guard over the other fragments." [6]

Cardonnel further exhibited on the shaft, on the east side, on the margin above the letters reading (*on*) *geredæ hinæ*, the following runes: ᛗᚠᚷᛁᛋᚷᚠᚹ = IDÆGISGÆF. Similarly Kemble wrote: "On the right-hand margin of the compartment, above the horizontal line, stand the letters D(or M)ÆGISGÆ. On the transverse rim across the shaft stand the four runes, GERE." [7] Haigh suggested that IDAE might be completed into ALCFRIDÆ. Duncan also reproduced these letters. Black deciphered DAEGIS GAEF. Bishop Browne found GISCAEFT and ESCALGA (*gealga* = gallows).[8] The latter writer also found on another face of the upper cross Latin words in Runic characters—INDNIUM, which he interpreted as IN DOMINIUM.[9] He wrote: "If I ever again have time to work at the upper

[1] *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 239.
[2] *Lessons from Early English Church History*, 106 and note 1.
[3] *Die Northumbrischen Runensteine*, 1895, 12.
[4] *Ibid.*, 48.
[5] Cook, *The Dream of the Rood*, Oxford, 1905, pref. xv, xvi.
[6] *Memoir of James M'Farlan*, 88.
[7] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 352.
[8] *Academy*, No. 931, 170.
[9] *Ibid.*

shaft I hope to establish the claim of the cross to parts of another stanza of the beautiful poem." [1] This is a reference to the ninth and following lines of *The Dream of the Rood*, which contain the words *forðgesceaft* (creation) and *fraco(ð)es gealga* (felon's cross). The translation runs : " All the winsome angels of the Lord gazed upon it through the firmament. Nor was that the cross indeed of any evil doer." In another work Bishop Browne asserts : " I have found on the head of the cross the word ' gallows ' and other suitable runes ; and I believe that the cross had, in the upper parts where the runes are no longer legible, this stanza about the outcast's gallows." [2] The present writer has not been able to discern these finds.

On the right margin of the east side of Ruthwell Cross the Runic letters form the following inscription :

geredæ hinæ God almehttig
þa he walde on galgu gistiga
modig fore (allæ) men ;
. . . .
bug. . . . (Pl. VI.) [3]

These lines correspond with lines 39, 40, 41 of *The Dream of the Rood* in the Vercelli Manuscript (Kemble's edition), thus :

Ongyrede hine ðá geong Hæleð—ðaet wæs God ælmihtig—
strang and stíðmód : gestáh he on gealgan héanne
mõdig.

Kennedy translates the passage thus : " The Hero young—He was Almighty God—did off his garment, steadfast, stout of heart. With valour in the sight of many men He mounted up upon the lofty gallows, when He would fain redeem mankind." [4]

On the left margin we read :

ic riicnæ Kyningc
heafunæs hlafard ; hælda ic ni dorstæ.
Bismærædu ungket met ba ætgadre.
Ic wæs miþ blodæ bistemid,
bigoten of . . .

[1] *Theodore*, 245. [2] *The Conversion of the Heptarchy*, 1906, 206.
[3] Cook, *The Dream*, 3, note. Both Gordon and Duncan deserve our gratitude for their accuracy in delineating the runes.
[4] *The Poems of Cynewulf*, Lond., 1910, 307.

These lines correspond with lines 44, 45, 48, 49 of *The Dream*:

> Ród wæs ic áræred ; áhof ic rícne Kyning,
> heofåna Hláford ; hyldan me ne dorste.
> . . . . . .
> Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blóde bestemed,
> begoten of . . .

The translation is: "As a cross was I lifted up: I bore aloft the righteous King, the Lord of Heaven. I dared not bow me down. They mocked us both together. All bedewed with blood was I, gushing from the Hero's side." [1]

Above the right margin of the west side of the Cross we read: "Crist wæs on"; then, on the margin:

> rodi
> Hweþrae per fusæ fearran cwomu
> æþþilæ til anum ; ic þæt al biheald.
> Sare ic wæs miþ sorgum gidrœfid
> hnag . . .

The manuscript has, lines 56–59:

> Crist wæs on róde.
> Hwæðere þær fúse feorran cwoman
> tó þám Æðelinge ; ic þæt eall behéold.
> Sáre ic wæs mid [sorgum] gedréfed, hnág.

The translation runs:

> "Christ was on the Cross.
> Yet souls hasted from afar unto the Prince.
> I beheld it all. Sorely was I smit with
> sorrow, yielded." [2]

On the left margin appears the inscription:

> miþ strelum giwundad.
> Alegdun hiæ hinæ limwœrignæ
> gistoddun him *æt* his *l*icæs *h*eaf*d*um
> *b*ihea*l*dun hiæ þer h*eafun* . . .

Lines 62, 63, 64 in the poem are as follows:

> eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.
> Áledon hie ðær limwérigne, gestódon him æt his líces heáfdum
> behéoldon hie ðær heofenes Dryhten.

[1] *The Poems of Cynewulf*, Lond., 1910, 307. [2] *Ibid.*, 308.

The translation is: "All wounded was I with their darts. There they laid Him down, weary of limb, and at His body's head they stood and gazed upon the Lord of Heaven." [1]

Kemble very accurately read and interpreted the stanzas upon the Ruthwell Cross, publishing the result in his dissertation "On Anglo-Saxon Runes" in 1840.[2] Further evidence of his scholarship was given two years later by his identification of these stanzas with portions of a poem, *The Dream*, etc., included in the Vercelli Codex published by Mr Cooper,[3] which Mr Kemble edited in 1856.[4] Kemble concluded that "the dialect of these lines (on the Cross) is that of Northumberland in the seventh, eighth, and even ninth centuries." [5] Kemble illustrated his assertion that the inscription evidenced marks of great antiquity from the use of *æ* for *e* in oblique cases, of *a* for *o*, the infinitive *a* or *æ* for an, *un* for *on*, the dual accusative of the personal pronoun *ic—ungket*. He further discovered the cryptogram of "Cynewulf" both in the Codex Exoniensis and in the Codex Vercellensis, which are treasures of sacred poetry in the West-Saxon dialect. He identified the author with an abbot of Medehamstede, or Peterborough, scholar and poet. "He died in 1014, and according to my view," Kemble wrote, "is more likely to have composed these poems than an earlier author." [6] Mr Kemble, in his "Additional Observations on the Runic Obelisk at Ruthwell,"[7] in 1842, in referring to *The Dream*, rightly drew attention to its evidences of greater imagination and more cultivated style than other specimens of its class show, as well as to the poet's own subjectivity, which is not illustrated in the works of Beowulf or Cædmon. His maturer opinion when editing the Vercelli poems was, that their language does not "supply any data that can be relied on to settle either the time or the locality to which we owe them." [8] While treating of *The Holy Rood—a Dream* he writes: "It contains some passages of real poetical beauty, and a good deal of fancy. Indeed, were anything still wanting to convince me of the comparatively late

[1] *The Poems of Cynewulf*, Lond., 1910, 308.

[2] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 327–372.

[3] *Ibid.*, xxx. 31–46. C. P. Cooper's *Report on Rymer's Fœdera* (1869), Appendix B, contains "E. Vercelli Codex." Its contents are:—Legend of St Andrew, 47–89, ll. 3441; Fates of the Twelve Apostles, 90–92, ll. 190; Departed Soul's Address to the Body, 93–96, ll. 249; Blessed Soul, 96–97, ll. 89; a fragment, 98–99, ll. 92; The Holy Rood, a Dream, 100–104, ll. 310; The Invention of the Cross, 105–138, ll. 2648.

[4] J. M. Kemble, *The Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis* (Ælfric Society), Lond., 1856.

[5] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 357.

[6] Kemble, *The Poetry*, etc., pt. i., Pref. ix.

[7] *Archæologia*, xxx. 33.

[8] *The Poetry*, etc., pt. i., Pref. vii.

date of these compositions, I should find proof of it in the tone and character of this very poem." [1]

Professor Henry Sweet (1885), while discarding "mæ faucetho," also says:—"Even the name Cædmon is not quite certain, for Stephens reads Cadmon, which is an anomalous form. But assuming the name Cædmon, it can only be taken as that of the sculptor who devised the ornamentation and carved the cross. . . . All that the language teaches is that the inscription cannot well be later than the middle of the eighth century." [2] He also concludes that the poem is the work of Cynewulf, and "a portion of the epilogue of the *Elene*" of the Vercelli MS., which he thinks is a recension of the original text.[3] Professor Skeat refers the dialect to the eighth century, and declares that "the poem (doubtless by the poet Cynewulf) . . . is preserved in a much later Southern (or Wessex) copy in a MS. at Vercelli." [4] Professor Alois Brandl gives reasons for his impression "that to date the poem as of the beginning of the eighth century involves no undue straining of the facts." [5] He says:

"In the Vercelli Manuscript it appears complete, 156 lines in all, and is written in the West Saxon dialect usually employed by scribes of its period (late tenth century). The other version is in the older spelling, but contains only four separate groups of lines from the body of the poem, carved in pure Northumbrian dialect on the Ruthwell Cross. Moreover these lines are incomplete in themselves, partly in metrical confusion, and in one passage even the sense takes a somewhat different turn.[6] . . . They show a consistent Early Northumbrian dialect. At the very least a particularly ancient stock of written forms must have lain at bottom." [7] As to the Vercelli poem he continues: "To enable us to fix the date of its composition, the best criterion at our disposal is the presence or absence of the definite article before a weak adjective with a substantive." [8] The result is as follows:

The Vision, without article, 5 = 33·3 per cent.; with article, 10 = 66·6 per cent.
Beowulf, „ „ 65 = 83·3 „ „ „ 13 = 16·6 „

"So that as *Beowulf*, on account of the Christian elements it contains, cannot be dated earlier than the middle of the seventh century, one has good grounds

[1] *The Poetry*, etc., pt. ii., Introd. ix.
[2] Cf. *postea*, 61, 74.
[3] *Old English Texts*, 125.
[4] *English Dialects*, Camb., 1911, 18.
[5] "On the Early Northumbrian Poem, 'A Vision of the Cross of Christ'" (transl. and revised, from the *Trans. of the Berliner Academie der Wissenschaften*, 1905, by Dr Charles Macpherson), *The Scott. Hist. Review*, ix. 34, 139–147, Glasg., 1912.
[6] *Ibid.*, 139; cf. *æþpilœ til ânum.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 140.
[8] *Ibid.*, 142.

RUTHWELL CROSS: SOUTH FACE.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie

To face page 58.

for assigning the *Vision* to about the beginning of the eighth century." [1] "As for the *place*, nothing can be urged against Northumberland . . . the fixed home of Cædmon and of his school of religious poets." [2] Professor Brandl surmises that the discovery in St Peter's, Rome, by Pope Sergius I., after a vision in 701, of a large fragment of the True Cross (a fact alluded to by Bede), and its exposure for public veneration then, when Ceolfrid, Abbot of Wearmouth, was visiting Rome, may have stirred the Northern imagination, just as the discovery gave rise to the Festival of the Elevation of the Cross.[3] The arrival of the *lignum Domini* which Pope Marinus sent to King Ælfred in 883 was more likely to have caused a stir.[4]

In 1890 Professor Albert S. Cook contended that the dialect recorded on the Ruthwell Cross was as late as the tenth century, and probably posterior to 950[5]—a conclusion which, after fuller investigations, he maintained in 1900.[6] In his "Notes on Ruthwell Cross" Professor Cook says: "The Ruthwell writer may well have been a Northumbrian adapting a poem in a more Southern dialect, consciously archaising in certain particulars, yet inadvertently admitting forms belonging to his model." [7] In Cook's edition of *The Dream of the Rood*, which leaves nothing to be desired, he repeats his former conclusions thus: "While the general aspect of the inscription has led many persons to refer it to an early period, it lacks some of the marks of antiquity; every real mark of antiquity can be paralleled from the latest documents: some of the phenomena point to a period subsequent to that of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (about A.D. 950), and the *Durham Ritual* (A.D. 950–1000), and none flatly contradicts such an assumption. Moreover, a comparison of the inscription with *The Dream of the Rood* shows that the former is not an extract from an earlier poem written in the long Cædmonian line which is postulated by Vigfusson and Powell, and by Mr Stopford Brooke, since the earliest dated verse is in short lines only, and since four of the lines in the Cross-inscription represent short lines in *The Dream of the Rood*; it shows that the latter is more self-consistent, more artistic, and therefore more likely to be, or to represent, the original; and it shows that certain of the forms of the latter seem to have been inadvertently retained by the adapter who selected and

[1] "On the Early Northumbrian Poem," etc., 143. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, 146, 147.
[4] *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, Trans., ii. 66, 67. [5] *Academy*, xxxvii. 153.
[6] "Notes on Ruthwell Cross" (Dec. 1900) in *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America*, xvii. 375–390.
[7] *Ibid.*, 388. The clearest indication of ancientness is the final *æ* found thirteen times, and *æs* found twice.

rearranged the lines for engraving on the Cross. All this harmonises with the evidence from grammar, and with the conclusions drawn from the character of the sculptured ornament." [1] In fine, Professor Cook laid down the propositions that the inscription was derived from *The Dream*; Cædmon's name was never on the Cross; the inscription is of tenth-century date (probably the latter half); the inscription does not represent a poem of Cædmon: *The Dream* and the Cynewulfian poetry had a common author—Cynewulf in his maturity, "before age had enfeebled his phantasy or seriously impaired his judgement." [2] In his most recent work, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses* (1912), which is fully illustrated, Professor Cook does not resile from his former judgment, except as to date, but further illustrates it by a fuller exposition of the word *Ungket*, which Kemble thought of "extreme antiquity," but which Cook has found in late works.[3] As *Ungget* on the Cross he declares the spelling bungled.[4] His final results are: "The forms of the Runic letters do not require an early date, and the fact that no Scandinavian memorial inscriptions antedate 900, and that Runic inscriptions occur in England as late as the twelfth century, assuredly favours a date much later than the seventh century. The language of the Ruthwell inscription indicates a date not earlier than the tenth century. . . . The metrical peculiarities of the poetical inscription on the Ruthwell Cross show that it was rather a clumsy adaptation of certain lines of *The Dream of the Rood*. . . . A date not far from 1150 would perhaps harmonise all the indications better than any other that could be named." [5]

Dr C. W. Kennedy, of Princeton University, supports and quotes Professor Cook, stating: "No trace of the name of Cædmon is to be found upon the Cross. The language of the inscription upon the Cross lacks some of the marks of antiquity, is probably later than *The Dream of the Rood* instead of earlier, and is to be placed at least as late as the tenth century; . . . any claims for the attribution of *The Dream of the Rood* to him (Cædmon) may be dismissed at once." [6] Dr Kennedy discusses "facts" which, according to him, make the theory of Cynewulfian authorship (of *The Dream*) probable." [7]

[1] *The Dream*, Oxford, 1905, xv, xvi (quoting *Corp. Poet. Bor.*, i. 435; *Eng. Lit. before N. Conquest*, 197).
[2] *Ibid.*, Introd., xvi, xvii, xl, xli.
[3] Yale University Press, Newhaven, 1912, 245 (17).
[4] *Ibid.*, 246.
[5] *The Date*, 358 (146).
[6] *The Poems of Cynewulf*, Introd., 64.
[7] *Ibid.*, 68.

In face of the repeated averments of Bishop Browne that he deciphered the name KEDMON on the Cross, and the fact that letters difficult to read are visible, the present writer thinks that the conclusions of the two last-named writers on the point are too positive. A courtier named in one charter "Cadmo," in another "Cadmon," is found among the northern *reguli*, sheriffs and earls with Abbot Dunstan attesting charters relative to Cumberland and Buckingham, granted by King Eadred in 946 and 949.[1] Unlike the others he had no designation, official or honorary. He may have been an Oriental, as his name implies, and, for that matter, a Semitic, Syrian, or Alexandrian sculptor.[2] The conclusions of Professor Cook, with the exception of the late date, 1150, which he has more recently fixed upon, are eminently satisfactory.

Were it conceded that the runes on Ruthwell Cross were only early specimens, and the dialect was only Early Northumbrian—whereas it can be proved that both lingered long after Aldfrith's age,—the student would be faced with the serious difficulty of explaining how the early dialect could record the much more modern intellectual and spiritual conceptions characteristic of *The Dream*, quite out of harmony with forms of thought in 700 A.D., and these, too, upon a monument exhibiting much later symbolical teaching, as well as later and more refined artistic manipulation of sculptured subjects. Whereas by admitting that the West-Saxon poem, *The Dream*, is late and original, and not a recension of, or development out of, an early epic, partly preserved on the Cross, the student can, without too great assumption, conclude that the Runic inscription is a selection from the Southern poem transliterated and adapted for Northumbrian eyes and ears, in the first instance, and for those of Northmen in the second. That even a Glastonbury monk or sculptor in the tenth century would make mistakes in executing the design is not to be wondered at. Dialects and styles of sculpture do not die suddenly, in secluded districts especially. The successful attempts in our own time, by translations of the Scriptures and by preaching, to reproduce the Scottish Doric prove the tenacity of dialect and folklore; and it may be safely affirmed that half a century ago the old folks on the Borders were still speaking the pure Doric of two centuries before. In remote parts like

[1] Birch, *Cartularium Saxon.*, ii. 577, No. 815; iii. 38, No. 883; Kemble, *Cod. Dip.*, ccccxi.

[2] Kadmos = Semitic *Qadmoni*, Oriental, from *qedem*, the east; cuneiform, *Qadmu*. Cf. R. Brown, jun., *Semitic Influence in Hellenic Mythology*, 1898, 132, 143. Prof. Sweet considered Cadmon "an anomalous form." The Rev. J. L. Dinwiddie, Ruthwell, is of opinion that the letters still visible might indicate "Colman."

Ruthwell and Bewcastle the same conservative tendency would be in evidence in the tenth century.

2. *The Runes on Bewcastle Obelisk*

On the Bewcastle monolith the runes, from $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches to 3 inches in height, are incised laterally on the horizontal margins above the panels, and on a tablet specially designed on the west side to receive nine lines of Runic letters. The Runic letters on the cross-head already referred to, as sent by Lord William Howard to Cotton, were ᚱᛁᚾᛟᛋᚹᚱᚪᚺᛏᚾᛟᛋ, and were interpreted erroneously *Rỳnas Drỳhtnes*, signifying the mysteries of the Lord. Olaf Worm read them as ᚱᛁᚾᚨ ᛋᚨᛏᚢᚾ ᚱᚢᚾᚨ ᛋᛏᛁᚾᚨᚨ (*rino fatu, runa stina d*), signifying, "Rino set up these Runic stones." W. C. Grimm said they represented ᚱᛁᚾᛟᛋ ᚺᚱᚪᚺᛏᚾᛟᛋ, *ricæs dryhtnæs*, signifying, "of the powerful lord (the monument)." As this fragment could not be a part of the Obelisk, it needs no further consideration here.[1]

The tablet on the west face is covered with runes, many easily decipherable to-day (Pl. XXI. fig. 3). But in 1685 the curate of Bewcastle reported to Nicolson, what Nicolson found to be true, that "the characters were so miserably worn out that they were now wholly defaced." Nicolson's personal examination resulted in the discovery of these six letters, ᚢ ᚠ ᛏ ᚺ ᚱ, UFTSR, which, he said, were "incoherent and a great distance from each other." At first he traced on the northern face ᛁᛁᚺ ᚢ ᛉ ᛉ ᛒ ᚢ ᚹ ᚢ ᛗ, which he read as RYNBURU, while he preferred to think it should be RYEBURU, signifying a cemetery. Similarly, on the south side he got ᚼᚠᚾᚢᛒ⁝⁝⁝ᛉᚱᛗᛏ⁝ᚼ, which was read as GAG UBBO ERLAT. He further found on the west side ᛁ ᚴ ᚱᚴᛁᛋᛁᚺ ᛗᚴᚢ·ᛚ / ᛗᛏ⁝, *i.e.* IKKRKIAUELU ET (?), which seems to be the third line on the tablet, and part of the fourth. One important observation made by Nicolson was that the stone was "washed over with a white oily cement to preserve it." [2] But on Nicolson's return in 1703 he "could not make out even this inscription," [3] a condition which Gibson, probably on Nicolson's authority, stated in his edition of Camden's *Britannia* in 1695—"The letters are so dim that they are not legible."

George Smith's illustrations of the Runic inscription are perfectly clear, although all the letters are not determinate and recognisable. The characters

[1] Cf. *antea*, 4.

[2] *Phil. Trans.*, Oxford, xv. 1287–90; *Britannia* (Gibson's edit.), 1030.

[3] *Britannia*, Lond., 1806, iii. 455, pl. xxvi.

are i, h, k, e, u, th, w, a, t, r, b, o, s (Manx), g, ea, n, ü, g, with some bind-runes (Pl. XI. fig. 1).[1] He found on a fillet on the north side ᚼᛖᚾᛁᛒᚢᚱᚢᛝ, and wrote of it: "Upon the whole I read it KUNIBURUK, which in the old Danish language imports *sepulchrum regis*." [2] He also illustrated a fillet on the south side thus, ᚼᚢᚾᚾᛒᚢᚱᚢᛝ, *i.e.* KUNNBURUG,[3] and another at the bottom of the south side, ᚢᚱᚱᛉᚾᚠᚾᚴᛗᚠᛏ.[4] According to Captain Armstrong, "the inscription which is on the west face is not legible," in 1775.[5] This evidence is important, for the witness was a surveyor and draughtsman, and a native of the parish.

The next delineator, William Hutchinson, in 1794, appears to have visited the Obelisk, and also employed a friend to copy the inscription. While accepting Smith's reading, he says: "Mr Smith delineates the first three letters IHN. Late visitors as well as we have great doubts whether any such letters were ever legible" . . . "A friend took off the inscription on north side; it was very confused and unperfect but appeared much in this form ᚼᚿᚸᛉ᚛ᛒᚢᚱᚢᛝ, of which we confess we are not able to give a probable reading." [6] He also asserted that the inscription placed by Smith on the south side was "irrecoverable by any device."

Howard's attempt to read the oracles in 1801 were no more successful (Pl. XI. fig. 2). "On the whole," he writes, "little more than the vestiges of this inscription remain." [7] On the first line of his plate he shows no letter readable. On the second line three letters are clear: on the third line four letters are definite: on the fourth line five letters are decipherable: on the fifth—the crucial line—his reading is ᚢᚠᚱᛁᛏᛚᛒᚠᚱᛁ, *i.e.* UOFITLBFRI. He avers, "Towards the latter part scarce anything is to be made out." He clearly shows KYNIBURUG on the north side; but regarding the fillet on the south side he states that "but a few letters only ᛁᚱᚱᛏᛁᛁᛁᛁ can be made out; the rest are chipped off or worn away." [8]

If the inscription on the west face was unintelligible in Howard's day, it must have been much more so when Samuel Lysons, in 1816, so carefully delineated it for publication in the *Magna Britannia*.[9] His original sketches

[1] *Gent. Mag.*, xii. 132.
[2] *Ibid.*, 318, 369.
[3] *Ibid.*, 319.
[4] *Ibid.*, 529.
[5] *Lond. Mag.*, xliv. 388.
[6] *History of County of Cumberland*, 85, 86.
[7] *Archæologia*, xiv. 117.
[8] *Ibid.*, 118.
[9] *Magna Britannia*, 1816, iv. cxcix; Drawings, No. 9462, ff. 109, 113, Brit. Mus.

are preserved in the British Museum, and have been examined by the writer. Lysons only made out a perfect Runic character here and there, namely, I, L, G, U, T, A, O, F, R, Th, K, B, U, N, and probably H. His transcription of the famous inscription above the figure of the Redeemer, which now appears in this unpardonable form of spelling—GESSUS KRISTTUS, consists of a few scratches, . Lysons left beautiful well-finished scale drawings in pencil of the Bewcastle Obelisk, and other famous objects in Cumberland (Pl. XI. figs. 3, 4).

Kemble, in his paper on "Anglo-Saxon Runes," alluding to Howard's account and plate xxxiv., says "the hardly legible remains of a long Runic inscription may still be traced." He proceeds: "Of fig. 1, but one letter an R is now legible. Fig. 2, which contains indistinct traces of nine lines of runes, and of which the loss may be said to be irreparable, offers here and there a legible letter or two, but no more. Fig. 3 on the contrary is still in perfect preservation: unfortunately it supplies us with only one word, and that a proper name—CYNIBURUG or CYNIBURUH, which contains unquestionable evidence of great antiquity." [He adds a footnote to this effect: Burug and Byrug are the usual Northumbrian forms of the West-Saxon Burh.] "Who this lady was it would be absurd to attempt to guess." His next statements are very remarkable when compared with the subsequent interpretations by critics who were not Anglo-Saxon or Runic experts: "I think that the fifth line in the inscription in fig. 2 may also possibly have contained her name: while the second line of the same commencing with letters which apparently formed the word CRIST render it likely that this, as well as the Ruthwell pillar, was a Christian work." [1]

When in the middle of the nineteenth century the Rev. John Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle, set himself to clear the stone, by ingenious practical methods, and to clear up the mystery, he arrived at startling literary results. In a Memoir [2] on the subject, fully illustrated with woodcuts, he explains his method: "I covered the inscribed parts first of all with soft mud and sods for a few months, which process entirely removed the thick coat of moss and lichens with which the letters were so thickly covered, without doing any injury to the stone." [3] He next made dry rubbings, which were unsatisfactory: made a mould and cast, "without any great result": coated the

[1] *Archæologia*, xxviii. 347.
[2] *A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, Lond. and Carlisle, 1857.
[3] *Ibid.*, 10, note 14.

North face. East face. South face. West face.

RUTHWELL CROSS.

Photographs by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 64.

runes with paint : pressed soaked paper slips in the incised letters, let these dry, then took rubbings. Then he concludes : "From those rubbings, combined with the previous processes, and a repeated dwelling of the eye upon the letters and countless tracings of the depressions and marks with the point of the finger, I have succeeded in gaining such knowledge of the almost worn-out characters that I now venture to offer a version of this interesting inscription." [1]

Maughan's reading of the inscription in 1854 was the following, in four couplets : [2]

1.	† Thissig beacn	† This pillar
	Thun setton	slender set up
2.	Hwætred Wæthgar Alwfwolthu	Hwætred Wæthgar Alwfwolthu
	Aft Alcfrithu	in memory of Alcfrith
3.	Ean Kyniing	ane king
	Eac Oswining	and son of Oswy
4.	† Gebid heo sinna	† Pray thou for them, their sins
	Sawhula.	their souls.

In a letter of date 18th February 1856 he corrected *setton* into *setta*, and † *gebid* into *igebid* [3] (Pl. XII. fig. 1).

The other runes which Maughan discovered were, on the west side : KSS, part of KRISTUS, and †GESSUS KRISTTUS, as shown before. This most unusual spelling of the Holy Names renders it suspect.[4] On the top of the south face, according to Maughan, was the inscription, ᚴᛁᚴᛖ ᚳᚳᚳᚳ, LICE, *i.e.* dead body ; and on each horizontal margin below it, in descending order, ᛖᚴᚷᚠᚱᛁᚹ, EKGFRI[THU]; ᚱᛁᚴᛖᚾᚦᛖ ᚾ, RIKES [TH]ÆS, of this kingdom; ᚲᚢ ᚢ ᚾᛁᚾᚷᛖᚾ, KYNINGES, king ; ᚾᚠᚱ ᚢ ᛖᚸᚾᚷ ᛖᚠᚱ, † FRUMAN GEAR, in the first year. "The four lines on this (south) side of the Cross . . . are to be read thus : '*in the first year* (*of the reign*) of Egfrid, king of this kingdom of Northumbria,' *i.e.* A.D. 670, in which year we may conclude that the monument was erected." [5] Stephens improved on this interpretation by adding the word FRITHES, and translated the sentence thus : "In-the-FIRST YEAR of-the-KING of-RIC (realm) THIS

[1] *Memoir*, 17 note, 21. [2] *Ibid.*, 17, 18, 19.

[3] Brit. Mus., Addl. MSS., 37,232. This letter is full of recriminations of Mr Haigh.

[4] Seroux d'Agincourt, in *History of Art by its Monuments*, Lond., 1847, ii., taf. xxi. fig. 13, shows a crucifixion with GESUS on cross-head on front of altar given by Pope Celestin II. in 1144 to the Cathedral, Citta di Castello, in Umbria. Professor Cook refers to two ancient Danish censers engraved with runes, *Gesus Krist*, and †*Gesus Krt*, and to the customary spelling of *Gesus* in the thirteenth century : *The Date*, 249 (37).

[5] *Memoir*, 27.

ECGFRITH-LIE (lie=may Alcfrith lie) in frith (in peace)."[1] Similarly, on the north face, in descending order: ᛏᛏᛏᛝᛖᛋᛋᚢᛋ, ᛏᛏᛏ GESSUS; WULFHERE, Wulfhere; ᛖᚢᚱᚳᚾᛏᚠᛗᚢᛏᛝ, MYRCNA KYNG, King of Mercians; ᛗᚢᚾᛖᛋᚹᛁᚦᚨ, KYNESWI[TH]A, Kyneswitha (cf. pp. 67, 73); KYNNBUR(THU)G.[2]

Maughan's reconstruction is certainly a marvellous feat, appearing as it does immediately after his quotation of the note in Gibson's edition of the *Britannia* (1695): "There is an inscription, but the letters are so dim that they are not legible."[3] Of the runes composing the all-important name ALCFRITH, on which largely depends the theory of the seventh-century origin of the cross, only two letters, RI, are found in all the transcriptions before Maughan's day; three letters, FRI, are given by Howard and Lysons. Where Maughan has ALKFRI(TH)U, Howard and Lysons read NLBFRIR; Haigh, ETBERT; Taylor, TORBORO (? the runes are mixed). Thus Maughan introduced the unusual C or K into the name of Alcfrith, and found the terminal TH attached to the U, which formed a peculiar case-ending. No student of the Runic Obelisk, however, will wonder at the odd results arrived at by Mr Maughan, when he reads an account of the imposition practised upon him—a gullible enthusiast—regarding the alleged Baronspike and Hazelgill Runic inscriptions, of which Mr W. G. Collingwood writes: "Mr Maughan had been for years the enthusiastic Runologist of the country-side, eagerly expounding the Bewcastle Cross, circulating among his parishioners the story here retold, talking to all and sundry about his theories on Petriana and place-names. In some other antiquarian matters he is known to have been deceived. It was on his authority that the Maiden Way north of Bewcastle was laid down on the Ordnance Map, with many forts, etc., which recent investigation has shown to be imaginary. There is reason to think that he was the victim, especially in his later years, of a series of practical jokes. Old roads, pavements, ruined forts (cottages) were found for him by the zeal or roguery of his neighbours: and these runes are their creation. They are not the work of a Runic scholar; they were concocted by a clever Cumbrian who had read the rector's papers, heard his talk, perhaps used his books, and, like his countrymen, laughed at enthusiasm and loved a joke."[4]

Still more incredible is the treatment of the subject by the Rev. Daniel Haigh, who, according to his contemporary, Maughan, had views, suspicions,

[1] *Old N. R. Mon.*, i. 403; *Handbook*, 130.
[2] *Memoir*, 26–30.
[3] *Ibid.*, 11.
[4] *Notes on Early Sculp. Crosses*, 52, 53.

and conclusions formed before he received the imperfect rubbings of Maughan. In his acknowledgment of the rubbing of the chief inscription he wrote : " All traces of impressions are effaced." [1] His subsequent action surprised Maughan, who says : " After such a plain statement few persons would suppose that he would ever attempt to impose a version of this inscription (from such a rubbing) either upon the Society of Antiquarians at Newcastle, or at any other place. Few persons, however, it would seem, have any idea how sanguine some antiquarians become, and what confidence they assume in their own powers of success. *In a few days he did actually give, and without the least hesitation, a version of this long-lost inscription.*" [2]

Haigh produced his interpretations more than once.[3] He interpreted the words RICÆS DRIHTNÆS STICÆTH as signifying " the staff of the mighty Lord." He proceeds : " On the northern side we read distinctly in Runic letters, nearly six inches long (fig. 5), the Holy Name †GESSU. Below this we have an inscription (fig. 6) OSLAAC CYNING, then a knot, another inscription (fig. 7) WILFRID PREASTER ; an oblong space filled with chequers, a third inscription read by the Rev. J. Maughan CYNIWISI or CYNIWISID ; a second knot, a fourth inscription (fig. 8) CYNIBURUG ; and lastly a double scroll. . . .

" On the southern side at the top are the remains of the name CRISTUS (fig. 9) corresponding to GESSU on the north. Below this is a knot, an inscription (fig. 10) ĒANFLED CYN̄GN ; a scroll in the midst of which a dial is introduced ; a second inscription (fig. 11) ECGFRID CYN̄ING ; another knot, a third inscription (fig. 12) CYNIBURUG CYNN̄GN ; another scroll, a fourth inscription (fig. 13) OSWU CYNĪNGELT, and a third knot." [4] On the west side Haigh also deciphered †GESSUS CRISTTUS. His reading of the main inscription is as follows :

T̄HISSIG BEC	This beacon of honour
UNSETTAE H	set Hwætred
WAETRED ĒOM	in the year of the
GAERFLWOLD	(f(e)lwoldu) great pestilence
UÆFTERBARAE	after the ruler
YMBCYNIN̄G	after King
ALCFRIDÆG	Alfred
ICEGÆDHE	pray for
OSUMSAWLUM.[5]	their souls.[6] (Pl. XII. fig. 2.)

[1] *Memoir*, 31. [2] *Ibid.*, 31, 32.

[3] In *Arch. Æliana* (N.S.), Newcastle, 1857 ; *The Saxon Cross at Bewcastle*, i. 149–167 ; and in *The Conquest of Britain by the Saxons*, Lond., 1861, 37.

[4] *Arch. Æl.*, i. 152. [5] *Ibid.*, 152. [6] *Ibid.*, 153.

In the *Conquest* he modified his reading thus :

† THIS SIGBECUN	This memorial
SETTAE HWÆTRED	Hwætred set
EM GÆRFÆ BOLDU	and carved this monument
ÆFTÆR BARÆ	after the prince
YMB CYNING ALCFRIDÆ	after King Alcfrid
GICEGÆD HEOSUM	pray for their souls.[1]
SAWLUM.	

Maughan records other two renderings by Haigh to this effect : "Hwætred, Witgær, Felwold, and Roetbert set up this beacon of victory in memory of Alcfrid. Pray for his soul" ; and, "This memorial set Hwætred in the great pestilence year to Roetbert to King Alcfride. Pray for their souls." [2] Haigh considered that the two crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle were the work of the same artist, and that the Obelisk at Bewcastle marked the place of Alcfrith's burial in 664.[3]

The reading of Canon Isaac Taylor contains a mixture of Gothic and Anglian runes, and others for which he gives no equivalent in his article on Runes (Pl. XII. fig. 3).[4] His rendering of the fifth, the crucial, line in the main inscription is UK(?)FTARBA(O ?)RA ; and in the seventh line, ALKFRIDÆG.

The version by Maughan has been generally adopted, with a few minor emendations by Stephens, Calverley, Collingwood (Pl. XII. fig. 4), Bishop Browne, Champneys, Dr Hodgkin, and others, and the usual translation runs : "This victory-column, thin (or lofty) set up Hwætred, Wothgar, Olwfwolthu, after Alcfrith once (lately) King and son of Oswi. Pray for the high sin of his soul." [5] The most recent and reputable authority, Dr Thomas Hodgkin, declares that the "inscription, . . . though not yet deciphered beyond dispute, certainly says that the stone was raised as a memorial of 'Alchfrith, son of Oswy, and aforetime King.' . . . Even should the reading of one line . . . prove too fanciful to be accepted by future students, we have in the other utterances of this monument enough to invest with a peculiar interest the name of Oswy's son and Penda's son-in-law." [6]

[1] *Conquest*, 37.
[2] *Memoir*, 33, 36.
[3] *Arch. Æl.*, i. 163, 176.
[4] *Chambers's Encyclopædia*, 1892, ix. 24, 25.
[5] *Notes on Early Sculp. Crosses*, 44. For Collingwood's articles cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, Newcastle, i. (3 S.), 1904, No. 25. *Victoria Hist. of Cumb.*, i. 254–257, 277–278.
[6] *Political Hist. of England*, Lond., 1906, i. 172.

Page 69, line 6,
for (Pl. XII.) *read* (Pl. XXII.).

With a shrewder insight Mr J. Romilly Allen observed that the inscription "is so much obliterated that it cannot be read with any degree of certainty."[1] This has been too true for over 170 years, as the following comparative table of the readings proves. Indeed, for over 200 years, if the competent scholar, Archbishop Nicolson, is to be credited, the inscription has not been in a condition to reveal its secret (Pl. XII.).

Wilhelm Vietor's searching analysis brought out the following results regarding the two critical words CYNNBURUG and ALCFRITH.[2] The translation runs: "North side. A (the lowest ridge) C′YNNBURUG′] Nicolson's (reading); C′] K Haigh's; C′ with a point left and right, Nicolson's, twice; I, Smith, Haigh; I·, Howard, Lysons, illegible Hutchinson; mutilated I; second U] U with small cross line, Maughan (1), THU, Maughan (2); repeatedly a transverse mutilated U."[2] He further inaccurately avers that "it is certain that for two hundred years the name C′YNIBURUG′ on the north side has been continuously attested, and it is not to be read as C′YNNBURUG′."[3]

The accompanying representations, photographed from the cast taken in 1913, from two different points of view, show up the letters so distinctly that one can easily distinguish the original carving from the weather-marks and other indentations (Pl. XXIII. fig. 1). It may thus be read: S (serpent symbol ?) CYNIBURUG. The table below shows various readings of the inscription:

ᚻᚢᚷᚷᛒᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Nicolson.	"Rynburu" or "Ryeeburu."
ᚻᚢᚷᚷᛒᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Camden (Gibson).	"Kynnburug."
ᚻᚢᚷᚷᛒᚢᚱᛉ	„ (Gough).	"Kynnburg."
ᚻᚢᚾᛁᛒᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Smith.	"Kythiburug" or "Kuniburuk."
ᚻᚢᚾᛁᛒᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Howard.	"Kyniburug."
ᚻᚢᚾ ᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Hutchinson.	"Ky⁀n burug."
ᚻᚢᚾᛁᛒᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Kemble.	"Cyniburug" or "Cyniburuh."
ᚻᚢᚾᛁᛒᚢᚱᚢᛉ	Maughan.	"Kynnbur(th)ug."
. . . . .	Bishop Browne.	"Künnburug."
. . . . .	Baldwin Brown.	"Cyniburyg."

[1] *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, 1889, 208.
[2] *Die North. Runensteine*, 14.
[3] *Ibid.*, 16.

Of Alcfrith, Vietor notes: "p͡UAFTALCFRI] U(Æ?)R(A)T : R : Smith; UÆ : : : E/o(B?)FR : Howard; UÆ : : : L(C) : R : Maughan (1); T͡HUOF-TOL∞ (translate A for both O's) Maughan (2); URÆTBE͡RT (translate O for A) Haigh (1, 2); UÆFTÆRBARÆ Haigh (3): (U, with cross-line) (ÆFTAL, all damaged, but, as I think, extant): CFRI (this with a stroke near it on the right? and perhaps also :=TH? on the edge)."[1] He also notes that Haigh alone found ALKFRIDÆG in the seventh line. Vietor only considered Maughan's ALCFRITHU and OSW(IU?) very probable.[2]

The only word which all the observers recorded in some form or other is the name CYNIBURUG, CUNNBURUG, or CYNIBURYG.[3] This in all probability was the name of Bewcastle, as the sequel shows. The three letters FRI expanded into *Alcfrith* might as well have formed a part of other equally or more important names, such as *frith*, "peace," *Ealdfrith*, the king, *Wilfrith* (709), *Guthfrith*, king of Northumbria (927), *Frithestan*, bishop (932), and other personages among whom Alcfrith is the obscurest, he being a mere spectre flitting over one chronicler's page and mysteriously passing into oblivion without a comment. But the appearance of even a part of his name, along with CYNIBURUG, upon a monument was a sufficient clue to an imaginative antiquary for recalling that well-known passage in the *History* of Bede, where it tells how Prince Peada, son of King Penda of Mercia, was "chiefly prevailed on to receive the faith by King Oswy's son Alchfrid, who was his brother-in-law and friend, for he had married his sister Cyneburg, the daughter of King Penda."[4] Thereafter this story lent itself for popular and romantic embellishments. In face of the facts now adduced it would be hazardous to suggest any transliteration or interpretation of the old but now mutilated inscription. What now appears is the modern recension, which is valueless.

The use of AFT or ÆFT, "after," to signify *in memory of*, found on the large inscription, indicates Scandinavian influence, or proves imitation of similar usage upon the late inscribed Runic crosses in the Isle of Man, the dates of which are assigned to the eleventh century and later. In various forms—*after*, *aft*, *auft*, *eft*, *aftir*, *eftir*, *oftir*, *aiftir*, *ift*, and *iftir*—the word is found

[1] *Die North. Runensteine*, 15. [2] *Ibid.*, 16.

[3] This last form is Professor Baldwin Brown's reading: *Burlington Mag.*, xxiii. (cxxi.), April 1913, 46.

[4] Beda, *Hist. Ecc. Gent. Ang.*, III. xxi., anno 655; Plummer's edit., ii. 176, 198, 405; Sellar's trans., Bohn, 180.

A B

THE CHRIST ON BEWCASTLE (A) AND RUTHWELL (B) CROSSES.

Photographs by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 70.

on Swedish, Danish, and Manx stones.[1] In the Isle of Man the inscriptions run thus: . . . THANA IF(T) UFAIK= . . . erected this (†) to the memory of Ofeig his father (in Andreas, No. 73); OULAIBR . . . RAIS(TI) (K)RS THANA AIFTIR ULB=Olaf . . . erected this cross to the memory of Ulf (Ballaugh, 77); THURSTAIN RAISTI KRUS THANO IFT UFACK SUN KRINAIS=Thorstein erected this cross to the memory of Ofeig, son of Crina (?) (Braddan, 86); KRIM RISTI KRVS THNA AFT RUMUN =Grim erected this cross to the memory of Hromund (Michael, 101).[2] Two interesting specimens of similar Anglian epitaphs are the following: †GILSUITH ARÆRDE ÆFT BERSUITHE BECUN AT BERGI; GIBIDAD DER SAULE=†Gilsuith erected a (beacon) monument at the burial mound in memory of Bersuithe (Thornhill, Yorks.). Pray for his soul. EOMER THÆ SETTÆ ÆFTER ROETHBERHTÆ BECUN ÆFTER EOMER. GEBIDAD DER SAULE=†Eomer erected this to Roethberht, a beacon to Eomer. Pray for his soul.[3] There are many other examples beyond Northumbria.

The preposition *aft* (*iftir*) takes the accusative case,[4] which makes the appearance of ALCFRITHU peculiar, if the word refers to the king of that name, since the accusative case would be simply ALCFRITH without change. The terminal U would be suitable for a queen. Sandulf reared a monument in Andreas AFTIR ARINBIAURK KUINU SINA, to the memory of Arinbjorg his wife; and Joalf in Michael RISTI KRUS THONO AFT FRITHU MUTHUR SINO, erected this cross to the memory of Fritha, his mother.[5] ALCFRITHU is clearly a mistaken reading, if AFT ALCFRI did appear cut upon the stone.

Short biographies of the personages whose names are alleged to have been found inscribed upon the Obelisk and the Cross are necessary at this point.

King Oswiu, Oswy, king of Bernicia (650 Northumbria), son of King Æthelfrith, born about 612, succeeded his brother Oswald 642, died 671, aged 58; married first Riemmelth, second Eanflæd; had a brother Oslac married to Cyneburh (Wessex); had by Eanflæd children—(King ?) Ealh-

[1] G. Goudie, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (N.S.), i. 152. Cf. Dieterich's *Runen-Sprach-Schatz*, 222, for *aftar* and its varieties.

[2] P. M. C. Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 86, 87, 91.

[3] J. R. Allen, *Mon. Hist. Brit. Church*, 211, 212.

[4] Goudie, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* (N.S.), i. 152; Cook, *The Date*, 250, 251, 254.

[5] Kermode, *Manx Crosses*, 195, 201.

frith (Alchfrid=Cyneburh [Mercia]), Ealhflæd (f), Osthryth, King Ecgfrith (=Æthelthryth and Eormenburh), King Ealdfrith (?) (=Cuthburh), Ælfwine, Ælfflæd.[1] Another Oslac was "*dux magnificus*" in Deira in 968–975.

Ealhfrith, Alchfrid, alleged underking of Deira, married Cyneburh (653), daughter of Penda, king of Mercia; took the Roman side on the Easter question; pupil, friend, and patron of Wilfrith, bishop of York.[2] A pestilence occurred in 664. Thereafter Ealhfrith disappears. To account for this extinction Maughan wrote: "It has been presumed that Alcfrid fell a victim to this plague. If so, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he breathed his last in his Saxon city of Bewcastle, and that he was buried here."[3] The chief authorities given for Ealhfrith are Bede[4] and Florence. It is generally supposed that Ealhfrith and King Ealdfrith were different individuals.[5] The writer is not satisfied that the assumption is warranted. As Bede was not born for thirteen years after the disappearance of Ealhfrith, and was only eight years old when Ealdfrith ascended the throne, his testimony is not indisputable. Later writers and many good scholars have identified Ealhfrith with Ealdfrith, who succeeded his younger half-brother, King Ecgfrith, in 685, and died at Driffield on 5th December 705.[6]

Ealdfrith was an illegitimate son of Oswy and an Irish woman, and was educated in Ireland, where he became famous as an alumnus of Abbot Adamnan, and as—

> "Flann Fina, Son of Osa,
> Arch-doctor in Erin's learning."[7]

---

[1] Cf. Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, Cambridge, 1899, 303.

[2] *Ibid.*, 290, 303, 304. According to Bede, Alcfrith joined his cousin Oidilwald in a rebellion against his father King Oswy: *Eccl. Hist.*, iii., xiv.

[3] *Memoir*, 24. Vietor (*Die North. Runensteine*, 46) well says: "Selbst wenn Alhfrid's Tod nicht schon 670, sondern erst später erfolgt ist, muss daher die Kunstvolle Verbindung irischer mit continentaler Ornamentik und figürlicher Skulptur auf seinem Grabmal in Erstaunen setzen."

[4] Beda, iii. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28.

[5] Plummer's *Bede*, ii. 263.

[6] Sharon Turner makes Alfred (MS. Cott. Vesp. D 14,132), the illegitimate son of Oswy, marry Cyneburga: *Hist. Ang. Sax.* (7th edit.), Lond., 1852, i. 321. C. F. Keary (and R. S. Poole), in *A Catal. of English Coins in Brit. Mus.*, Lond., 1887, lxiii–iv, says of Aldfrith (Ealdfrið, Alhfrid, Alfred), "He married Cyneburg, daughter of Penda." Grueber also refers to these facts, *Handbook of Coins*, 14. There are no coins of Alcfrith. One coin of *Aldefridus* is preserved in the British Museum; another is in private hands. William of Malmesbury states that Aldfrith (not Alcfrith) being illegitimate and an elder son succeeded "the younger Ecfrid legitimately born," and married Kineburga: *De Gestis Reg. Ang.*, edit. Stubbs, i. 57, 58; edit. Stevenson, 1854, 44, 45. Florence makes Alhfrid of the Whitby Conference succeed Ecgfrith, and "Alhfrith rex Northanhimbrorum" die at Driffield: *Monachi Chronicon*, edit. Thorpe, 1848, 23, 25, 26, 46. Alured's A.S. version of Bede gives Ealhfrith and Ealdfrith: bk. v., Smith's edit.

[7] Reeves, *St Columba*, xliv. 185, 186, 378.

Also called Acircius, he married Cuthburh, sister of Ini, king of Wessex, who separated from him during life. Others allege that he married Kyneburg. Such a scholar and king was most likely to have inspired, or become the founder of, a Northumbrian cross.

The word "Alcfrithu," alleged to remain on the Obelisk (in feminine case), is not in the form in which it was anciently and usually written. Ealhfrith is spelled *Alchfrid*, then *Alhfrid* and *Alhfriδ*, never *Alcfrith* or *Alkfrith* in early MSS. of Bede and other writers.[1] In Eddi's *Life of Bishop Wilfrith* we find *Alhfritho* (*Aluchfritho*, A), *Alchfrithus* (*Ealhfridus*), and in Fridegoda's Life (tenth century) *Alhfridus* (*Alfridus*).[2] In a little work included in the works of Symeon of Durham (fl. 1130) entitled *De Regibus Saxonicis* (said by Cotton to be a MS. of Symeon) the name *Alcfridus* stands for King Aldfrith.[3] In the *Liber Vitæ* (ninth century) appear *Alchfrith* and *Altfrith*.[4] *Aldfrid*, not *Alchfrid*, is included in the list of kings appended to Bede (MS. M).[5]

It is remarkable that, while Bede omits all mention of the disappearance or death of Alcfrith, or reasons for either, he should be so uncertain of Aldfrith as to record: "Aldfrid succeeded Egfrid . . . said to be brother of Egfrid, and son to King Oswy."[6] Bede was not always accurate, and in the face of these discrepancies one may well doubt whether Alcfrith, "underking of Deira," the mysterious prince of Bewcastle, ever lived.[7]

Cyneburg, after the decease of Alcfrith, is alleged to have become abbess of Caistor, and in 963 the bodies of this saint and her sister St Cyneswith were transferred to Peterborough.[8]

[1] Plummer, *Bede Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 14, 21, 24, 25, 28; iv. 26; v. 1, 2, 7, 9, 12, 15, 18. In Sweet's list of names in Bede's *History* (MS. M 737) are found *Alchfrido* (*Alhfrido*), *Alc(h)friod* ("h" added by editor), *Alchfridi*, *Alchfrid*: *Oldest English Texts*, 139, 140.

[2] Raine, *Hist.* I., ii., cap. vii., *Vita Wilfridi Episcopi*, 11, 12, 115.

[3] "Post Ecgfridum frater ejus Alcfridus tenuit regnum xix. annis": *Symeonis Dunelm. Opera* (Surtees Soc.), i. 210. In *Hist. Regum* it reads, p. 10, "Alfridus." In Symeon's letter to Dean Hugh we read, "Missus est Wilfridus ab Al(c)frido rege in Gallias ut ordinaretur Episcopus," p. 132. The "c" is an insertion of the editor.

[4] Sweet, *Old. Eng. Texts*, 154.

[5] *Ibid.*, 148.

[6] Bede, iv. 26; Sellar's trans., 287.

[7] W. G. Searle in *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, Camb., 1899, gives the following authorities: for *Ealhfrith*, Beda, iii. 21, 24, 25, 28: for *Ealdfrith*, Beda, iv. 26; v. 18; Sweet, 148; *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, D-E; Florence; Symeon (*R. S.*), i. 37, 223, 26; ii. 15; Beda, *Vita St Cuthb.*, 24 fin.; Beda-Plummer, ii. 312: for *Cyneburh*, Beda, iii. 21; Florence; *A.S. Chron.*, E: for *Cuthburh*, *A.S. C.*; Florence; Lappenberg-Otte, i. 267n.

[8] *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, i. 221; ii. 96.

Ecgfrith, son of Oswy and Eanflæd, born about 645, succeeded as fourteenth king in 670, and died on 20th May 685.

Wulfhere, king of Mercia (659–675), brother of St Cyneburg and St Cyneswith, was found among the names. There was a Wulfhere, bishop of York, in 854–900.

Wilfrith, a priest, according to Haigh, was memorialised. Wilfrith I. was ordained priest in 664 ; bishop of York, 664–669 and 686–691 ; bishop of South Saxons, 680–686 ; bishop of Leicester, 692–705 ; bishop of Hexham, 705–709. Wilfrith II. was bishop of York, 718–732. Wilfrith I., of Worcester, 718–745 ; Wilfrith II., of Worcester, 922–928.

Hthwætred's name appears. A Huætred is on the roll of monks in the *Liber Vitæ* of Durham (ninth century). Wihtred, king of Kent, died in 725. Abbot Wihtred lived in 852. The most likely possessor of this name was Wihtred or Wigred, who was bishop of Chester-le-Street in 928–944, in Æthelstan's reign.

Wothgar. Withgar, a minister of King Æthelstan, visited St Gallen in 929.[1]

Olwf. Olaf was a common name in North England. Olaf Kuaran (Cwiran), Olaf "the red," or Olaf "of the sandals," was the son of King Sitric Caoch or Gale of Dublin ; fought at Brunanburh in 937 ; king of York, 940 and again 949 ; professed Christianity in 943 ; expelled by Northumbrians in 952 ; retired to Iona and died, 981. He professed Christianity. Other names have been suggested without much warrant, such as Felwold and Roetbert, of whom nothing is known.

Cædmon, or Kedmon, is a name alleged to be incised on the top-stone of Ruthwell Cross on the north face ; and many have identified this individual with Cædmon, the poet and monk of Streaneshalch (670), and a reputed author of *The Dream of the Rood*. It is remarkable, however, to find the name *Cadmo(n)* appended to a grant by King Eadred to Wulfric, brother of St Dunstan, of land at Workington, also in Cumberland, in 946. The same witness, as *Cadmon*, attests another charter along with Abbot Dunstan in 949.[2] His status is not given.

Admitted that CYNIBURUG or CYNNBURUG is inscribed on Bewcastle Obelisk, what does the term denote ? Is it the name of a person or of a place ? Queen Cyneburh has been already referred to as a likely personage

[1] Goldastus, *Script. Rer. Alemann.*, ii., pt. ii. 153, 156, quoted by Stubbs, *Mem. of St Dunstan*, lxxvi n.

[2] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 577, No. 815 ; iii. 38, No. 883. Cf. *postea*.

for remembrance. A reference to Anglo-Saxon charters shows that family names beginning with *Kyne, Cyne, Kyni, Cuni, Cyn, Cin* were favourites in the royal and noble families of Mercia and Wessex, not of Northumbria.[1] We find Kyneburga, Kynewitha (in 664 A.D.); Cynewalc (672); Cuniberhtus and Cunuberhtus (675); Kynigitha (695); Cynric (718); Cynhelm (799); Cynwulf (803); Kynstan, Kynewen, Cyneferth and Cineburg (all in a Mercian charter of 901); Cynelm (903); Cyneferth (932); Kynesie (958); Kyneward (970).[2] According to Professor Cook, "CYNI- is the predominant early form, followed by CYNE and CYN."[3] The above examples are of earlier date than those utilised by the Professor, who thinks that KYNN and BURUG are comparatively late forms.[4]

The prefix CYNE, equivalent to chief, head, royal, combined with BURUG would signify the royal borough, the chief borough. Dieterich in his Runic Dictionary associates KUNBURKA (a woman's name) with KUNR, a warrior (English, *gunner* ?), and BURK, a town or borough, and equates it with *Die* Kriegsburg, the war town (*stadt*) or burg.[5] Either designation, the-royal-borough, the-head-borough, or the-war-borough, would be equally descriptive of the camp at Bewcastle. Dieterich also gives *bu* as a *stadt*, a dwelling upon the land, house and hall (Icelandic *byr*, Swed. and Danish *by*, Gothic *bo*). The Normans probably had an easy transition from the old local names of the Roman fort into their new designation of the place—*beau chastel*, a beautiful castle.[6]

As Wendune became Brunanburh to the warriors of Æthelstan, so the now nameless camp of the Romans might be termed Kuniburh in the burh-building age of the warlike Eadweard the Elder in the tenth century.[7] It is interesting to note that in the Lindisfarne Gospels, at St Matt. ii. 1, the late Anglo-Saxon gloss for "*in Bethlehem*" is *thær byrig*; and at St Matt. v. 14 the gloss for *civitas*, a town, is *burug* and *ceastra*, illustrating both forms of the word *burh*, and one of these along with the Saxonised form of the Latin *castrum*, a camp.[8] Professor Maitland gives an illuminative statement,

[1] W. G. Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops, Kings, and Nobles*, 290–5, 330–9.
[2] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, i., ii., iii., *var. loc.*
[3] *The Date*, 255.
[4] *Ibid.*, 256.
[5] *Runen-Sprach-Schatz*, 115, 118, 337.
[6] Cf. Scott's "On Bochastle the mouldering lines." Cf. Appendix II.
[7] Cf. Bebbanburh, Rokkisburh, Jedburh, Glastonburh, etc. In 924 Eadweard went "into Peakland, to Bakewell, and commanded a burgh to be built and manned there in the immediate neighbourhood": *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 84. Bakewell had also a Roman fort. It was then the Northumbrians chose Eadweard "for father and for lord."
[8] *Civitas* in Domesday Book signifies a town without a cathedral church.

thus: "The shire has a burh, a borough. For choice it stands at a ford (Bewcastle rises over Shop-ford=sceap-ford?). Shire and burh are knit together. The shire maintains the burh: the burh defends the shire. . . . Just above the bridge rises the mound that is in the narrowest sense the burh of Cambridge. The castle has come and gone: the old burh remains." [1] It is different at Bewcastle: camp, castle, bridge, market-cross, and church beside the ford remain, but the *borough*, centre of the military, political, and civil business of an old Border county, is transferred elsewhere, if this contention be acceptable, that *Kuniburh* is the Anglo-Saxon name for the Roman camp at Bewcastle, which was made the site of a regularly constituted borough.

[1] *Township and Borough*, Camb., 1908, 37.

RUTHWELL CROSS, FROM SOUTH-WEST.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 76.

CHAPTER V

THE SCULPTURE ON BOTH MONUMENTS

The immense size of both these memorials, placing them in the class of high-crosses, suggests a late date for their origin in Britain.[1] The monolith at Bewcastle is an obelisk, and it has yet to be proved that it was formerly a cross. The Cross of Ruthwell was designed and finished as a free-standing, high wheel-cross, less elaborate in detail than others preserved in Monasterboice and Clonmacnois.

The refined sculpture on them merits superlative praise, and the belief that they are relics from the seventh century has intensified admiration of them. For the admission that Roman art left no permanent impression in Britain, considered with the supposition that a sudden, yet short-lived, dawn of a new culture in early Christian times in Northumbria was productive of examples of lovely art not unworthy of a much later era, leads to fresh wonder on our seeing these two works. It is thought that the Obelisk is an older relic than the Cross. The Cross of Ruthwell is devoid of the geometric and interlaced ornaments of the Bewcastle stone; while the highly finished foliaceous scrolls indicate with certainty a late fashion of the sculptors in the area influenced by Celtic teachers. The whole *format* of both monuments—shape, size, panels excised, and panels with incised letters, margins with incised letters — has Oriental, especially Egyptian, characteristics. But the presence of a complete crucifix carved upon a seventh-century stone cross, and that a high-cross in Ruthwell, from the uniqueness of the object, ought to make the archæologist pause with greater wonder. A perforated wheel-cross should also arrest the student of origins.

[1] Oldham, in *The Sun and Serpent*, Lond., 1905, 102, gives an illustration showing obeliscal monuments to Rajahs of Mandi, Beas Valley, not unlike these, and writes: "The monuments to the rajahs are on a larger scale, and upon them were, formerly, sculptured the representations of the wives and dependents who accompanied the chief to the other world."

1. Geometric Patterns: the Chequers

The simplest geometric design upon the Bewcastle stone is a primitive one of universal prevalence, namely, the checks cut on the northern face (Pl. XX.). Bishop Browne declares these "simple chequers, (are) perhaps the most difficult thing to explain on the whole cross, whether as to purpose or as to date." [1] Professor Cook finds his way out of the difficulty, following Rivoira,[2] by assuming that the cross is of the twelfth century, and the chequers are ornaments.[3] This assumption is unnecessary. From time immemorial chequer patterns have been used for ornamental and symbolical purposes on pottery, wood, ivory, mosaics, stones, and textiles. They were the favourite ornament of early Assyrians and Persians, and are found throughout the Orient. Watters says: "Chequer-patterns are often used with great effect, at all periods, from the geometrical vases down to the fourth century, their usual position being on the neck of the vase." [4] They appear on early Athenian and Corinthian amphoræ,[5] Cypriote quaichs,[6] Rhodian vessels,[7] Sudan dishes,[8] and on the signed crater of the great Greek artist, Python (350 B.C.).[9] They are worked on metal objects of the earlier bronze age of Denmark.[10] It is in Egypt, however, one finds the chequer frequently used, especially in connection with religious subjects, and probably with some symbolical meaning. The wooden coffin of Amen-hetep, priest at Ṭhebes (2500–1700 B.C.), is covered with painted chequers; another coffin of a lady has a finely painted necklet formed of checks (1600 B.C.); and a third coffin from the temple of Amen-Ra (1200 B.C.) exhibits a necklet of variegated checks.[11] A small coffin-casket has a painting of the tree of life growing out of a box ornamented with chequers, and out of the tree a female emerges.[12] Still more remarkable is the use of this design in the text of the Book of the Dead, where (4th vignette) Osiris is seen seated on a throne whose chief ornament is chequers in colour; while before him is displayed the sacred

[1] *Conversion of Heptarchy*, 194.
[2] *Lomb. Arch.*, ii. 83.
[3] *The Date of the R. and B. Crosses*, 298 (86).
[4] *Hist. of Ancient Pottery*, Lond., 1905. Cf. Cypriote vase from Ormidhia, i. 254, fig. 76.
[5] In British Museum, I. Vase Room, Cases 33–36, A 401; Case 20, *c*.
[6] 659, from Enkomi, Cyprus (1500–1000 B.C.): Case 46, *c*. 966 (6th cent. B.C.).
[7] II. Vase Room, Cases 10, 11, Nos. 1347, 1369, 1372, chequers with animals, flowers, etc. III. Room, E 424.
[8] Ashmolean Museum, Sudan Room, dish from Faras, No. 442.
[9] Brit. Mus., IV. Vase Room, F 149.
[10] Worsæe, *Indust. Arts of Denmark*, 67.
[11] Brit. Mus., I. Egypt. Room, Nos. 12,270, 30,720, 6710.
[12] *Ibid.*, III. Egypt. Room, No. 41,551.

lotus with its ten heads, surmounted by four children of Horus—the genii of the dead; and the door of the Funeral Passages has for its distinctive ornament chequers in colour.[1] Mr Owen Jones reproduces the design from the portico of a temple in Egypt.[2] Notched squares are carved on the door-post of the sun-temple of Bāsdeo (Vāsuki) Assuri, in the Chinab Valley, India.[3] The Romans in Britain used the pattern in their mosaics, as at Hemsworth in Dorset.[4] In the Museum at Cairo an early Coptic stele exhibits a background incised with squares, and in the British Museum is seen a portion of a Coptic stole embroidered with scenes from Christ's life, and squares of linen worked with figures of doves.[5] The Celts also used the pattern, as seen in the Lindisfarne Gospels, on the early sepulchral slabs in St Blane's Churchyard, Bute,[6] on the case of the Stowe Missal (1023–1052),[7] and on the doorway of Maghera Church, Londonderry.[8] Prior and Gardner acknowledge the existence of chequer and plait on Anglian stones.[9] Stuart illustrates chequers carved on a stone in Hexham.[10] The frequent use of the pattern by Norman architects is well known, and the later history need not be laboured here. The significance of the chequered panel may be connected with its suggestion of many crosses. The mantles of the Greek Fathers were covered with closely arranged Greek crosses, producing the appearance of chequer-work;[11] and the artists of the monastery of Daphne placed crosses within chequers on their mosaics.[12] The sun-dial on the southern face will be discussed afterwards among the symbols.

2. Interlaced Patterns or Knotwork

There are fine specimens of interlaced work upon the Bewcastle Obelisk. These interlaced patterns, carved with precision and care, display no characteristics different from those which prevailed in those late centuries when Hibernian monastic ingenuity turned simple plait-work into a puzzle, in which the cross was made a distinctive feature.

[1] *Ibid.*, Case F, facsimile of the Papyrus.
[2] *Grammar of Ornament*, Lond., 1868, pl. iv. No. 6, p. 18.
[3] Oldham, *Sun and Serpent*, 30.
[4] Brit. Mus., Staircase. Mosaics in three rows of *tesserœ*, with chequers and *tau* crosses.
[5] Maspero, *Guide du Visiteur*, etc., 1912, 232, fig. 71; *Brit. Mus. Guide*, 164.
[6] Hewison, *Bute in the Olden Time*, i. 221 (pl. ii. fig. 7).
[7] Stokes and Plunkett, *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, 1911, 82, fig. 37.
[8] *Ibid.*, 144, fig. 79.
[9] *An Account of Med. Figure-Sculpture in England*, Camb., 1912, 120.
[10] *Sculpt. Stones*, ii., pl. xciv.
[11] Mrs Jameson, *Sacred and L. Art*, i. 324.
[12] Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni*, 67.

Plait-work, rare in early times, found in the classical age of Greek art, was in common use as a design among the Romans, especially for the borders of mosaic pavements. Many examples have been unearthed in England.[1] From Italy the pattern spread into Egypt, where it became a prominent feature in Christian art.[2] Thence it followed the Cross into northern regions. Interlaced ornament was used in the churches of Syria in the second and third centuries, as well as in Georgia.[3] The development of the pattern in Ireland is most remarkable, but there is nothing peculiar in the examples at Bewcastle to prove that the style is purely Hibernian.[4] The surface is too weather-worn to permit one to say whether the double band of the Egyptian, or the triple band of the Italian artists, was a feature. The art of labyrinthine interlacing was one of the glories of Hibernian artists, as displayed in the Book of Kells, the Book of Durrow, the Hiberno-Saxon Book of Lindisfarne, and other famous manuscripts. But there is no good reason for asserting that only Anglian and Irish sculptors could execute the simple geometric designs upon Bewcastle monument—simple indeed compared with the accompanying figure-carving. As Rivoira well says: "The highly complicated interlacing of the Lindisfarne Gospels . . . was done at a time when the Comacini and Lombard guilds had long been accustomed to produce patterns of the most varied and intricate character in carving." [5]

It will be subsequently proved that neither in manuscript nor on stone, for long after the seventh century, did any Anglian or Celtic school of artists illustrate the ability to draw, mould, and carve graceful human figures at all comparable with those now under investigation. The most casual examination of the illustrations of carved interlaced work in Scotland, exhibited in the authoritative book of Allen and Anderson on *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*, proves a striking fact, that on all early monuments excellent

[1] Thomas Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, Lond., 1886; Woodchester shows plait-work, triquetra, floral scroll, birds pecking fruit, 74; Morton (I. of Wight), plait-work, birds pecking flowers, 234; plait-work at Horston and Lincoln, 136, 138; Bignor, floral scroll, 205; Leadenhall, scale pattern like Gosforth Cross, 180. The British Museum has mosaic pavements from Carthage showing interlaced work: Staircase, Nos. 23, 27.

[2] Maspero, *Guide . . . Caire*, 231–8, 237, fig. 74.

[3] Stokes and Plunkett, *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, 28. Wood found it in Ephesus: *Discoveries at E.*, Lond., 1877, 148, figs. 1, 3.

[4] Coffey. *Guide Celt. Antiq. Dublin*, 1910, 8–14.

[5] *Lombard Architecture*, Lond., 1910, ii. 145. Rivoira has further expressed his belief that complicated interlacing was unknown "in any part of Scotland before the eighth century," and that both Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses dated from "not earlier than about the first half of the twelfth century": *Burlington Mag.*, April 1912, cix., xxi. 24.

sculpture of ornament appears beside primitive, crude, and inaccurate carving of human figures.[1] The same conclusion holds good for Northumbria.[2] Accordingly, when some examples of geometric designs and of interlaced and floral patterns, which were easily executable by artists of various lands, are found in our country associated with bad and inartistic figure-drawing for centuries, while other examples have exquisitely moulded figures of men, such as the monolith at Bewcastle, one conclusion only is possible, and that is, that the more difficult work was the later in being executed. The archaic designs long utilised afford no criteria for dating the work. With the declension of the geometric and interlaced designs, and the preferential association of the floral motive with the figure, as in the case of Ruthwell Cross, arose a later, new style. Flower and foliage had no charm for the early Celtic artist, and from the Byzantine decorator came the grape-vine pattern, which found little favour among Hibernian craftsmen.

3. Foliaceous Sculpture

The early Christians followed the pagans in making the vegetable world contribute symbols for expressing their faith upon their monuments, and the vine, palm, olive, fig, date, cypress, and lily were frequently used for this purpose. A tree—the tree of life—was a religious emblem of universal acceptance. The bas-relief tablets used in Mithraic worship exhibit torch-like trees, with flowers resembling grape-clusters, devoured by goats, and figures holding twisted twigs and flowers.[3] On the two monuments under review the foliaceous sculpture is of two kinds, simple and complex, the former presenting the plant alone, the latter having sportive and destructive creatures perched among the branches. Both monuments exhibit the complex form. Bewcastle Obelisk also has the simple form.

1. The simple form exhibits the curving stems, fruits like grapes, and flowers in bloom, of some plant conventionalised, and probably representing the vine. This was one of the earliest symbols of Christ, in allusion to St John xv. 1 ff.: "I am the true vine . . . ye are the branches, etc." Vine tendrils used for symbolic decoration were found in the Catacomb of Domitilla, which dates from the second half of the first century.[4] The lower

[1] Edin., 1903.

[2] William Greenwell, *A Catal. of the Sculpt. Stones in the Cath. Lib., Durham*, 1899, *var. loc.*

[3] Cumont, *Textes et Monuments . . . Mithra*, iii., pl. vii. No. 251, p. 365; *ibid.*, ii. fig. 116, p. 266; *ibid.*, No. 99, p. 261; *ibid.*, iii., pl. vi. No. 246, p. 350.

[4] Carotti, *Hist. of Art*, ii. 11.

example on the north face of Bewcastle Obelisk much resembles an ornament carved on an ivory diptych of date 505 A.D., where a portrait of Christ crowns the two interblending plants.[1] The employment, by the ancient Assyrians, Persians, and Greeks, of a curving stem with tendrils, flowers, and fruit had the happiest development in early Roman decoration, as seen in Pompeii, where one finds lovely scrolls with leaves growing out of each other, and pendulous flowers and fruits, while through the curved branches wild creatures career.[2] The floral designs on Ruthwell Cross and Bewcastle Obelisk are elementary compared with the exquisite work executed on the styles of the door of the house of Eumachia in Pompeii, and the faultless carved shafts on the west front of Chartres Cathedral.[3]

That the early sculptors of Northumbria and Mercia could produce foliaceous sculpture may be admitted; and the alleged cross of Acca (740 A.D.),[4] with its well-executed combination of vines intertwined, grape bunches, leaves and tendrils (but without birds), the cross shafts of Hexham,[5] Stamfordham,[6] and Jarrow,[7] and other fragments preserved in Beckermet,[8] Heversham,[9] and other places, are accepted specimens of the ability of Northern carvers to produce foliaceous as well as geometric designs, in and after the time of St Wilfrith (Pl. XXI. figs. 2, 4). Rivoira admits that a somewhat similar carved slab, built into Britford Church, might be as early as the eighth century,[10] and he asserts that it was the sterility of native genius that forced Benedict Biscop and St Wilfrith to introduce foreign artists into England.[11] The simpler designs might well have been executable by native artisans, such as those Naitan, king of the Picts (710), requested to come from

[1] In the Kunst-Kammer, Berlin. Cf. Westwood Collection in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, F. I. 85; also *Proc. Oxf. Arch. Soc.*, 4 June 1862, 133. Cf. the sacred plant in Ch. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, Paris, 1883, i., pl. xxxviii., of seventh century.

[2] Jones, *Grammar of Ornament*, pl. xxiv. In 1909, the writer saw beautiful flower scrolls on the ceiling of the portico of the temple of Jupiter in Baalbec; also the vine carved on a capital in the ruined synagogue of Capernaum. A somewhat similar example of foliaceous carving on a curving and recurving stem is displayed on a magnificent early Asokan pillar (Buddhist) over 16 feet high, still *in situ*, in a great temple in Sarnath, India, recently excavated by the Government. Of this pillar, probably 50 feet high formerly, a recent writer says: "It is generally granted that no finer piece of carving was ever done by Indian workmen." *Times of India*, 1 October 1913, illust.

[3] J. Overbeck, *Pompeii in seinem Gebaüden*, etc., Leipzig, 1875, 468, fig. 274; Marriage, *The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, Camb., 1909, 44, pls. 16, 17.

[4] Haverfield and Greenwell, *Catal. Sculpt. Stones. Cath. Lib., Durham*, 54, 55, 56.

[5] *Ibid.*, 60. [6] *Ibid.*, 68. [7] *Ibid.*, 70.

[8] Calverley, *Notes on . . . Crosses*, 28. [9] *Ibid.*, 202.

[10] *Lomb. Arch.*, ii. 180, fig. 595. [11] *Ibid.*, 146 *et seq.*

BEWCASTLE CROSS, FROM SOUTH-WEST.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 82.

Jarrow to build a church of stone.[1] It might be otherwise with the elaborate patterns, to execute which foreign sculptors may have been brought.

2. The complex form of foliaceous sculpture exhibited on the east face of Bewcastle monolith and on the east and west faces of Ruthwell Cross is similar to that found on Byzantine and Coptic carved objects. The grape-vine scroll, with motives deduced from it, a prominent feature of Byzantine decoration, is not exemplified in early Irish manuscripts. Indeed, it is admitted that the absence of foliage is a distinctive characteristic of Celtic Art.[2] There is no trace of a foliaceous or floral motive in the Lindisfarne Gospels (*circa* 700), whereas it is found in later portions of the Book of Kells (eighth century); and the first page of Æthelstan's Psalter (ninth and tenth century) has a scroll with vine-leaves and birds.[3] In Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*, etc., a work of the ninth century from Waltham Abbey, now preserved in Lambeth Palace Library, there is an illumination showing a floral scroll with animals, birds, dragons, interlacing, and basketry all well executed. The Byzantine artists utilised all the motives of their predecessors —checks, zigzags, spirals, plaits, knots, creatures,—and their influence was felt in Egypt.

In the Westwood Collection of ivories in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, among the semi-statuettes of the fourth and fifth centuries, is a Bacchus within a bower of vines, with grapes, birds, beasts, lamb, and angel.[4] The beautiful floral mosaics in the Church of St Costanza—the mausoleum of Constantine,—Rome, could have afforded designs to Wilfrith, when he visited Rome in 654. Of this work Sir Thomas Graham Jackson recently writes: "Some compartments are filled with scroll work of vines, amid which birds flutter and boys climb: below, under canopies, men are treading grapes, while others bring the fruit in carts drawn by oxen. . . . It was to this natural school that it should seem Constantine V., Theophilus, and the other iconoclastic emperors in the eighth century reverted for the decoration of their churches and palaces after they had made a clean sweep of religious imagery."[5] Rivoira acknowledges the excellence of similar floral and basketry work on an

[1] Bede, v., xxi.

[2] Anderson, *Scot. in Early Christ. Times*, 82.

[3] In British Museum, Galba A., xviii.

[4] No. F. I. 21.

[5] *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, Camb., 1913, i. 191, pl. xlv. Cf. Sarcophagus Porphyreticus Sanctæ Costantiæ in Bosio, *Ant. Roma Sott.*, 1650, c. xxxvii. 654–657. On the sarcophagus of St Réginald in the Cathedral of Ravenna, says Bayet, "La vigne, qui sort en gros rameaux du vase sacré, se développe symétriquement dans tous les sens: des oiseaux becquètent les lourdes grappes qui pendent aux branches: l'ensemble est d'un aspect assez gracieux": *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la peinture*, Paris, 1879, 116.

arch in the Church of St Maria in Valle, at Cividale, in Friuli, which he attributes to artists from Ravenna in 762–766. But Jackson also points out, when discussing Lombard influence, and the *Magistri Comacini*, who were simply Roman not Lombard craftsmen, in reference to work in the Baptistery of Callixtus at Cividale (eighth century), that "the ornament is excellent, even beautiful, but the attempts at figures of men and animals are beneath criticism. . . . If the sculptured ornament of the eighth century be compared with that of the fourth, as shown, for instance, in the early Christian sarcophagi, one realises the abject condition into which the arts had sunk in Italy during the interval." [1]

The interlacing of vines and the introduction of destructive creatures were themes of the Egyptian sculptors, and many *stelæ* are preserved in the Museum at Cairo which exhibit these designs — interlacings, birds, key patterns, figures with nimbus, and Christian symbols.[2] Among the fragments of Coptic architecture found in the ruins of the convent of St Jeremy at Baouît, and within the small towns of Middle Egypt, are sculptured stones bearing designs similar to those on the two monuments under review. "They are ornamented," says Maspero, "with herbaceous stems or foliage, which now run in a direct line, then recurve in rolls and windings crosswise; and through them pass processions of figures, animals, amorous figures, Nereids mounted on dolphins, holy cavaliers at full gallop on horseback, and lambs amid fantastic monsters." [3] One could not find a better model for these Northumbrian floral designs than a portion of an apse from a Coptic shrine taken from Esna (700–900 A.D.), and now in the British Museum.[4] The outside border is carved with symbolical fish, birds (peacocks), leaves: within curving and recurving tendrils are seen vine-leaves, grapes, doves, a figure, flowers, shells, etc., occupying the curvature of the niche.

This Oriental design—the vine- or foliage-scroll—came northward through Gaul, in which many examples are found, into England. M. de Caumont gives a beautiful example on a moulding found in the ruins of the ninth-century

[1] *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, 215, 216. Professor W. R. Lethaby also refers to the Comacini Masters (*Mediæval Art*, 114), "who are supposed to have carried on architecture in North Italy, and to have been responsible for the supposititious school of early Lombard art," were merely "an association or guild of masons," with no reference "to a centre at Como"; "and that the Magistri Comacini heard of in the seventh century were of no special importance." These craftsmen of the Italian guilds were free to travel, as they did, into the West.

[2] W. E. Crum, *Catal. Général Musée du Caire. Coptic Monuments*, Cairo, 1902: *Stelæ*, Nos. 8265, pl. 39; 8673, pl. 47, etc.

[3] Transl. French *Guide Mus. Caire*, 236–237, figs. 74, 75.

[4] Southern Egyptian Gallery, Bay 32, No. 1104 (1423).

church of St Samson-sur-Risle (Eure), where the serpentine tendril of the vine bears a fruit like an acorn and also grapes pecked by a bird.[1] It reached Northumbria and Caledonia. A trough—how early cannot be determined—sculptured with a vine-scroll, from Great Orton, is preserved in the Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle, along with an early cross-shaft having vine-leaves and grapes boldly carved upon it. A cross at Cropthorne (Worc.), of date 800, resembles that at Ruthwell, having a similar cross-head, and floral carving on front and sides.[2] The complex form became a favourite ornament of the Northern sculptors. Within the diocese of Carlisle an elegant example of the scroll and revelling creatures is seen on the broken cross-shaft in Heversham Church.[3] Similar work is preserved at Nunnykirk, Northumberland,[4] and in the church of Auckland.[5] In the church of Jarrow is a small fragment showing doves perched among the vines. A lovely specimen of sculpture of this class was found at Jedburgh. A slab bears the vine-stem with its curving tendrils, amid which are carved a mouse, dog or squirrel, birds, winged and finny dragons, and flowers, forming a design in execution so like the work at Bewcastle and Ruthwell that one might conclude that all three are the works of one master or the productions of one school of artists.[6] If the three are contemporary works, dating from the tenth century, an explanation of the appearance of this superior work in Jedburgh may be found in the fact that, after the defeat of King Olaf by King Eadmund, his confederate Wulfstân, Archbishop of York, was by King Eadred in 952 "brought into the fastness at Jedburgh."[7] The beautiful floral sculpture on the south door of the chapel of St Joseph of Arimathæa at Glastonbury, and that of fruit and birds around the north door, are attributed to Norman artisans.[8] The jamb of an arch in Britford Church, Wiltshire, is made up of older sculptured work, and one piece, very like the broken shaft of a cross, has carving like that observable at Ruthwell.[9]

These works of art at Bewcastle and Ruthwell exhibit a high degree of excellence in the execution of the scrolls, flowers, fruit, and little creatures.

[1] *Abécédaire ou Rudiment d'Archéologie*, Caen, 1868, 87.
[2] Calverley, *Early Sculpt. Crosses*, 202.
[3] *Arch. Æliana*, xix., 1897, 192, photo.
[4] *Ibid.*, xx., 1898, 35, pl. iv. This example also has an archer shooting birds.
[5] Prior and Gardner, *Acc. of Med. Figure-Sculpture*, ii. 113, fig. 95.
[6] Allen, *Early Christ. Mons.*, Pt. III., i. 434, fig. 454. Cf. also 418, No. 435; Stuart, *Sculpt. Stones*, ii., pl. cxviii.
[7] *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, transl., ii. 91.
[8] *Vetusta Monumenta*, Lond., 1796, iii., pls. xxxiii., xxxiv.
[9] G. T. Rivoira, *Lomb. Arch.*, 1910, ii. 180, fig. 595.

There is no grotesqueness nor evidence of unrefined taste in the conceptions. The pervading inspiration is almost modern. The poise of leaf, flower, and fruit is natural, and their destructive visitors are deftly balanced on their perches. The mythical emblems of early monuments are almost entirely discarded. These two devotional objects are preachers in stone of a settled and pure Christian Gospel.

The origin and time of their dedication might be easily arrived at if one could indubitably specify the symbolical plants which are represented on them. The stem of the symbolical tree on the Obelisk is robuster than that carved upon the Cross. There are eight curves on the former, and twelve on each stem on the latter. The tree represented may be a vine, but on it appear to grow bunches of grapes, clusters of dates, opening figs, beside blooms of a unique formation. All these fruits were honoured in the old religions of the East, and appropriated by Christianity for symbols. The date, according to Porphyry, was a symbol of the soul in Hierapolis. The palm was pictured in the funeral gardens of the Egyptians. The Emperor Vespasian used the same sacred symbol on coins commemorating the overthrow of the Jews. The artist in Northumbria, in the tenth century, might have introduced clusters of rowan berries to influence Northern mythologists. The rowan-tree or mountain-ash (*Pyrus aucuparia*), long reverenced in Britain and on the Continent for its alleged magical properties, is, from a mythical point of view, allied to the sacred trees of India—the *Mimosa Catechu* and the *palasa* or *parna* tree. The rowan-tree was sacred to the fire-god Thor.[1] The fabulous tree "haoma" of which "soma," the drink of the immortals, was the juice, bore an eagle perched upon its top, while ten fish watched Ahriman's lizard, which was the harvest-spoiler, sent to destroy it. When the eagle rose, a thousand branches shot forth: when he lit again the seeds began to drop. This legend may explain the existence of the berries hanging from the branch in the talons of the eagle on Ruthwell Cross. The presence of lacertine creatures on both monuments may have the same explanation. Early Christianity was syncretic, and early sculptors illustrated what "The Road-mender" of Michael Fairless well says: "We can never be too Pagan when we are truly Christian, and the old myths are eternal truths held fast in the Church's net."

The beautiful flower so delicately and so often carved upon both monu-

[1] Sir J. Norman Lockyer, *Stonehenge and other British Stone Monuments*: sacred trees, xx. 201–211, 320.

ments has defied classification and identification by expert botanists. It is not a British bloom. It may represent a conventional flower based upon an Oriental prototype. It appears in various stages of development, or in various forms. An Oriental—Syrian—artist could observe similar sacred flowers used in the worship of the local gods—Kent, Resphu, and Anthát—as illustrated on the sepulchral stele of Qaḥa, a master craftsman, which is now preserved in the British Museum.[1] The flower bears a striking resemblance to those conventionalised examples of the lotus-flower given by Mr Owen Jones, and more particularly to the artistic combination of ten different bell-shaped flowers so arranged around an arc upon a mound as to indicate flowers of the desert.[2] In the Book of the Dead the sacred lotus has ten heads —a number corresponding with the stamens seen on a carved flower.[3] In a delineation of the Hall of Osiris (the Sun-god, the Christ of Egypt), an offering lying on an altar is a plant with a flower not unlike this one in question, but probably a conventionalised papyrus (*Cyperus papyrus*), the emblem of virility.[4] A search through herbals failed to produce any flower identical with this production of the Northumbrian artist. The nearest approach to it was a coloured representation of an *Achillea* in an herbal dated about 1100 A.D., now preserved in the Bodleian Library.[5] It was described as an antidote to the bites of serpents. Eusebius, in describing the bronze images erected to Christ and the woman of Cæsarea Philippi whom He healed, says : " Before her feet and on the same pedestal is a certain strange plant growing which . . . is a kind of antidote to all kinds of diseases." [6] Of the plant subjects treated by the sculptors of Bewcastle and Ruthwell, it may safely be said that their characteristics are Oriental. Little more can be conjectured.

One cannot fail to observe also that on all the earliest Anglian, Scottish, and Hibernian sculptured stones which have escaped destruction by the pagan Scots and Danes and the Normans, where the ornament, be it geometric or floral, is associated with representations of human or animal figures—these two Runic roods excepted—the craftsmen failed to produce anything comparable with the correctly drawn and finely finished figures extant at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. Nor can one escape the conclusion that there was no

[1] *A Guide to the Egypt. Coll.*, 1909, 248, pl. xl.
[2] *Grammar of Ornament*, 24, pl. iv. Nos. 12, 13, 16, 18.
[3] Brit. Mus., III. Egypt. Room, Case F, Vignette 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, S. Egypt. Gallery, 758; *Guide*, 61, pl. i., 149.
[5] Glass Case MS. 130, fol. 26, pl. liv.
[6] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, vii. xviii.

Northern school of artists to form and multiply similar works of art; so that, if these two roods are reckoned to be productions of the seventh century, they are masterpieces of a rare genius who came and passed like a meteor.

4. Figure Sculpture

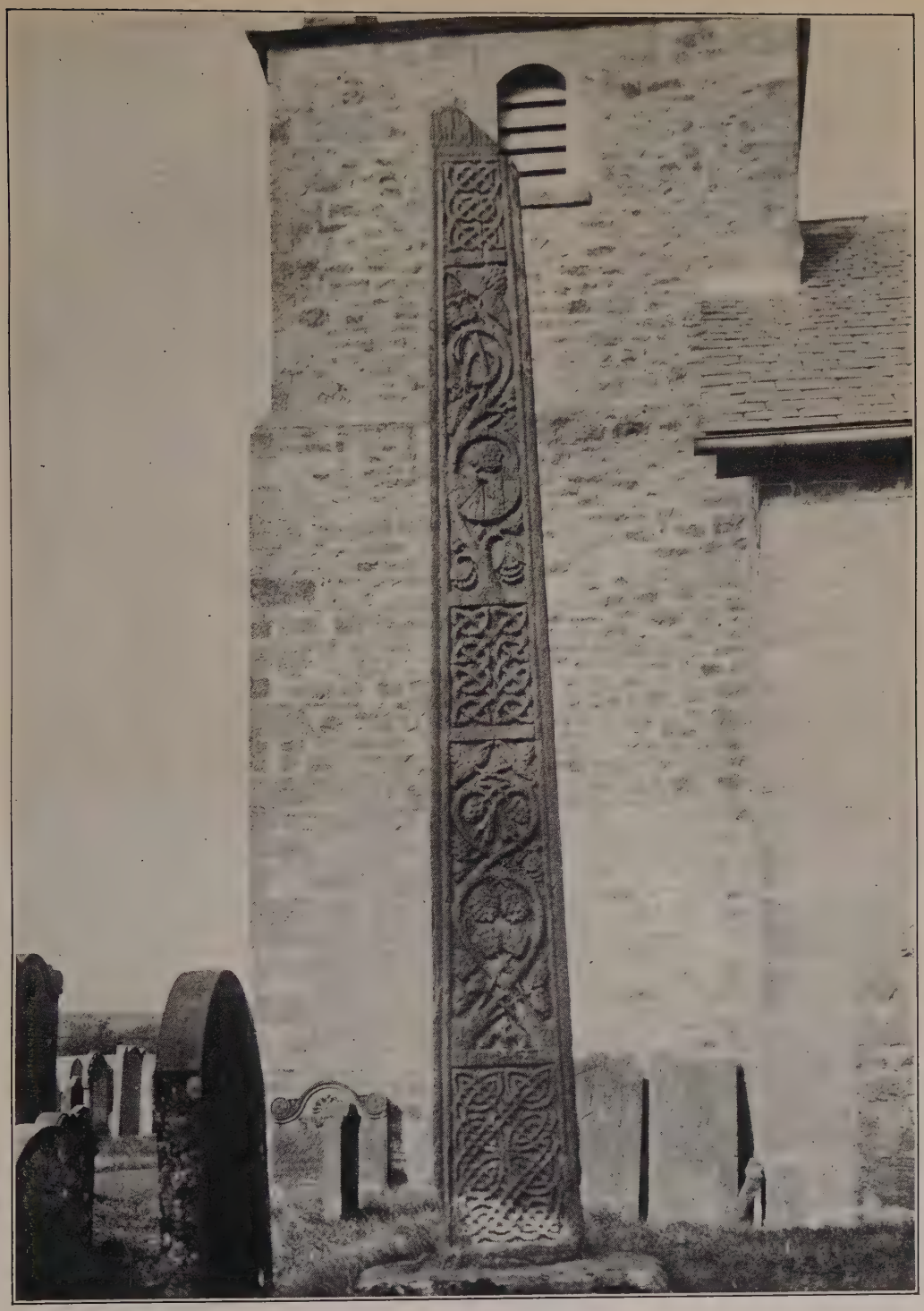
The craftsmen who designed and executed these monuments were accustomed to handle huge blocks of stone, accomplished in figure and anatomical drawing, expert with every kind of chisel, and gifted with artistic taste in producing the refined faces of the Christ, the Virgin, and other holy personages. The representation of the face and form of Christ is easily recognisable as that of The Great Preacher, with serene countenance, flowing locks, bearded face, which artists have delighted in since it appeared in the mosaics of the early basilicas.[1] The Christ displayed at Bewcastle and Ruthwell exhibits in feature, drapery, and pose all the grace, naturalness, suggestion of life and power which dignify the renowned masterpiece on Amiens Cathedral, "Le Bon Dieu," and similar works on Chartres Cathedral.[2] They are all copied from an early model. The mutilated, cleft face of the Virgin at Ruthwell still shows that the artist had conceived a very lovely maiden, whose shrinking modesty at the Annunciation he has marvellously expressed upon the stone; and the figure too is comparable with the Madonna de l'Annunciation of Amiens. The faces, after a Greek original, are handsome. Nearly all the figures on these monuments are instinct with life and motion. While Eros, the archer, is in the act of slipping his arrow, the Christ, dead on the cross, is the corpse of one crucified, modelled in every detail. The well-cut and graceful vestments are also noteworthy. "The draperies," say Prior and Gardner, "have the full foldings and massive modelling of late classic design, and generally the technique shows a practised chisel, as well as the assured methods of a finished school in figure and decorative design. We do not reach such technical attainment again in English work until close upon the thirteenth century." [3]

One may well ask, whence and how arose such correct draughtsmanship and elegant work on the benighted Borders? The quality of drawing of the human figure, as illustrated in the best works of early Celtic illuminators, and on such Anglian stones and buildings as have survived from the seventh century, does not suggest either a native source or an early date for such

[1] Sir Wyke Bayliss, *Rex Regum*, Lond., 1902, xxix: frontispiece from Basil. SS. Cosmas and Damian.

[2] Cf. Carotti, *A Hist. of Art*, ii. 273, 274.

[3] *Architectural Review*, xii. 8.



Bewcastle Cross: South Face.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 88.

works. And if Northern and Hibernian sculptors had beautiful models in ivory or plaster, why do not more specimens of finished imitations exist ?

The Northumbrian artist in statuary could obtain no inspiration from the Celtic draughtsman of the human form. The present writer, after personal investigation, corroborates what Miss Stokes and Count Plunkett well observe : " As regards the drawing of the human face and figure in the pictures contained in the otherwise beautiful books of the Irish scribes, nothing more hideous or barbarous can be well conceived." [1] This pronouncement is fully substantiated by the latest authority, Mr J. A. Herbert.[2] Mr Herbert, referring to illustrations in that " supreme masterpiece of Celtic illumination," the Book of Kells (eighth or ninth century), asserts that " nothing could be less lifelike or more hideous than the infant Christ, not even the large-headed, stony-eyed Madonna." [3]

The wooden coffin of St Cuthbert in Durham (*obit* 687) is a seventh-century work whose genuineness has never been doubted (Pl. XXIX. fig. 2). The incised figures upon it afford specimens of Northern contemporary draughtsmanship and carving. The stiff, badly drawn, crude figures, out of all proportion, are similar to those which prevailed in England on parchment and on stone for centuries, during and after St Cuthbert's epoch. There the oval face of the beardless Christ contrasts with the long classical face of the bearded Christ with flowing locks falling from a well-posed head, as seen both at Bewcastle and at Ruthwell ; and, further, the classical draperies of the apostolic figures on the coffin are not gracefully conceived and executed. In fine, all the figure drawing exhibited on northern Anglian sculptured stones, of the boasted era of Northumbrian art, impresses the observer with the idea of elementariness, puerility, and lack of suggested life. While early art, then, was wooden, clumsy, flat, the later tenth-century examples of drawing and

[1] *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 1911, 28.

[2] *Illuminated Manuscripts*, Lond., 1911. " The great characteristic of Celtic illumination is a complete disregard for realism," 66 ; " man, as seen by the Celtic artist, is a purely geometrical animal," 70 ; " the drawings of the emblems (of the Book of Durrow, sixth century) are crude, conventional, grotesque," 71 ; " the execution (in the Book of Dimma, seventh century) is poor, the general effect mean, and barbaric," 72 ; " the drawing of the figure (in the Gospels of St Chad, eighth century) touches the limit of grotesque hideousness," 76 ; " the figures (in the Commentary of Cassiodorus, ascribed to Bede himself, eighth century) are rigid and rudely drawn," 85; "drapery is represented (in the MacRegol Gospels, 820) by a series of rather turbulent diagonal stripes, faces are flat and geometrical, perspective does not exist," 80 ; " the figure drawing (of the Gospels of MacDurnan, 927) is impossible, and the drapery still more so," 80 ; " the drawings of the evangelists (in the Book of Deer, tenth century) are merely childish," 83.

[3] *Ibid.*, 77.

carving express more fulness, energy, and vitality. These later characteristics evident at Ruthwell suggest that the sculptor there neither worked from simple sketches, nor even delicate ivories, but from large moulded figures prepared by a master hand. This master, or craftsman, might be a classical, Biblical student, with a hieratic manual to guide his expert chisel. Such manuals existed for early Christian artists.

The iconography of the principal scenes of Christ's life was early settled, and the arrangements of details practically fixed, as can be proved from the similarities of the subjects and their details in works of art. Byzantine and Western art was influenced by Syrian models, as one finds by a comparison of the illustrations of the Syrian Gospels of Rabula (586) with those of the Armenian Etschmiadzin Gospel-book, and those of the Carolingian Gospel-books of the ninth century.[1] But these pictorial representations and models do not appear to have reached or affected Britain and Ireland very early. Simeon Metaphrastes, in the tenth century, compiled Lives of the early saints, and out of them a Menology was made for the Emperor Basil II. (975–1025). This interesting manuscript in the Vatican, now reproduced in photo-lithography, contains over two hundred miniatures signed by the various artists who illustrated the Lives according to the traditional method.[2] Didron found a hieratic manual at Sphigmenon, Athos, which was a compilation by a monk Dionysius from the works of Manuel Panselinos of Thessalonica, a painter of the eleventh or twelfth century.[3] Some of the subjects, such as the episode in the lives of St Anthony and St Paul, for which minute instructions to artists are given in this guide, are carved on Ruthwell Cross. Thus the artist is instructed: "St Anthony having found St Paul embraces him. A grotto: Paul the Theban, wearing a mat, which covers him from the shoulders to the knee; he and St Anthony embrace; a raven perched on the top of the tree holds bread in his beak." The bird apparently attacking a man on the top of Ruthwell Cross may represent the raven bringing the bread to St Paul. The breaking of the bread is shown and labelled on the Cross. Two men are also seen on the Cross embracing each other. A Coptic artist would delight in thus pictorially telling this story of the desert.

An Alexandrian artist would also have as a model for the Majesty of Christ that most beautiful of *stelæ* of the Ptolemaic epoch, representing Horus, the

[1] Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, 34.
[2] *Il Menologio di Basilio*, ii., Torino, 1907 (Cod. Vat. Greco, 1613).
[3] Didron, *Christian Iconography*, Bohn's transl., ii. 189; App. ii. 265–399.

Sun-god, standing upon the heads of two crocodiles, which is preserved in the Museum at Cairo [1] (Pl. XXV. fig. 3).

To revert to Southern influences on British art—Messrs Prior and Gardner assert that Roman sculpture "had no radical influence on any phase of English art." [2] This is borne out by our examination of the monuments found along Hadrian's Wall.[3] The same writers, while referring to the foreign artificers imported by Augustine, Wilfrith, and Theodore, conclude that Bewcastle Cross is "a sufficiently warranted specimen of Anglian art, still standing where it was set up as the monument of the Christian conquest of Cumbria," and that Ruthwell Cross "must be similarly dated" (*i.e.* 670). Yet they hold, "it is to be conjectured that not from Gaul or Italy, but from further east, came the hands which wrought this delicate work." [4] They are right except as regards the date.

Mr O. M. Dalton considers that the excellence of the sculpture under review may be accounted for by the influence of imported ivory carving: "The Italian art of the seventh century is not such as to encourage the belief that a contemporary sculptor could have produced the figures, . . . though the possible influence of illuminated manuscripts need not be overlooked." [5] In a later work the same writer says: "It can hardly be doubted, therefore, that this meteoric appearance of a monumental sculpture in Northumbria must be ascribed to external influence. To the question from what quarter this influence proceeded there is only one probable answer: it must in the first instance have come from the east of the Mediterranean." [6]

The difference between the idea of a carver engaged on St Cuthbert's coffin and that of the sculptor of Ruthwell Cross is the divergence between the art of Old Mortality and that of Canova. It seems impossible to believe that the superlatively lovely art of Bewcastle and Ruthwell could be executed in the age of King Aldfrid, the learned Flann Fina of the Irish monasteries,

[1] Maspero, *Guide Mus. Caire*, 474; "No. 4750 Schiste gris.—Haut 0 m. 45 cent."

[2] *Architect. Review*, July 1902, xii., No. 68, 7.

[3] In Museum, Tullie House, Carlisle, and Museum, Chesters.

[4] *Architect. Review*, July 1902, xii., No. 68, 7, 10. Cf. their recent work, *An Account of Med. Figure-Sculpture*, Camb., 1912, ii. 118. "It seems imperative that we assign the sculpture of Bewcastle to an age, when at any rate twelfth-century building sculpture had not developed as we know it at Durham and St Bees": *ibid.*, 117. They further state, p. 120, that Wilfrith's evangelisation "brought the capacity to carve great blocks of stone, not only with painters' and goldsmiths' pattern, but with figure postures of classic dignity and motives of oriental elegance."

[5] Dalton, *Catal. of Ivory Carvings of the Christian Era*, Lond., 1909, xxx, xxxi.

[6] Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, Oxford, 1911, 236.

and yet that across the English Channel in Man and in Ireland no similar examples of perfect art of the pictorial Gospel should exist in a Church as much alive at that time. The magnificent high-crosses of Ireland, with their elaborate sculpture, which Miss Stokes and Count Plunkett assign to dates not earlier than the tenth century, and as late as the thirteenth century, still display the inartistic and rude figures of the Celtic manuscripts already referred to.[1]

In the neo-Oriental art which revived after the persecutions of the iconoclasts, the classical types and poses remained and formed an iconography which became definitely fixed towards the close of the tenth century.[2] Nor can the great impetus given to sacred art by Charlemagne and his adviser Alcuin from York be forgotten. If Charlemagne despoiled Ravenna, in 784, to adorn Aix-la-Chapelle, we may be certain that the arts and sciences he encouraged made their influence felt in Britain. The six great schools of illumination in the Frankish empire in the ninth century were not pouring out their treasures in vain, when reproducing in this Carolingian renaissance all that was refined and beautiful in classical art. Alcuin never ceased corresponding with the clergy of the diocese of St Cuthbert.[3] Out of whatever quarter the inspiration came to create these noble representations of the holy personages of the Gospel, they indicate an attractive theology visualised by a refined, poetic mind. For at one and the same time the majestic Christ of the Obelisk and of the Cross, in stone so like "the hero," is also "the Prince of Glory" sung by the author of *The Dream of the Holy Rood*. And might not the designer or sculptor and poet also be one great Anglo-Saxon ?

[1] *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, 108. "The High Crosses still remaining in Ireland are forty-five in number, thirty-two of which are richly ornamented, and eight of which bear inscriptions" regarding personages who died between 904 and 1150: *ibid.*, 108.

[2] Carotti, *Hist. of Art*, ii. 92, 93.

[3] G. F. Browne, *Alcuin of York*, 132, 135, 137. He even sent "a robe of whole silk" to cover "the body of our holy father Nyniga" (St Ninian) at Whithorn: *ibid.*, 301.

Bewcastle Cross: East Face.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 92.

CHAPTER VI

SYMBOLS AND DOCTRINE

The Cross and Crucifix in Northumbria

1. *The Cross*

The date of the first appearance of the "sign of the holy cross" in Northumbria is known: the date of the appearance of a crucifix must be inferred. Bede narrates that near the spot on the battlefield at Denisesburn, or Heavenfield, where King Oswald reared a wooden cross and prayed for victory in 635, the brethren of Hagulstad (Hexham) afterwards built a church, "and this with good reason, for it appears there was no sign of the Christian faith, no church, no altar erected throughout all the nation of the Bernicians before that new commander . . . set up the cross. . . ." [1] Mr Champneys and others ask credence for their assumption that the elegant, decorated high-cross of Bewcastle was erected "soon after A.D. 670," and the still more elaborate Cross of Ruthwell "a little later." [2] Thirty-five years are a short period to permit of the development of the simple cross into so ornate and majestic a type, unknown elsewhere.

On the alleged body of St Cuthbert, bishop of Lindisfarne from Easter 685 to March 687, on its exhumation in Durham Cathedral, there was found suspended to the neck a small gold, decorated, jewelled, pectoral Greek cross, with equal arms hollowed out in parabolic curves. The late Archbishop Eyre, a learned antiquary, without hesitation discarded skeleton and cross, although found with the saint's coffin, as having no connection with St Cuthbert.[3] A somewhat similar type of cross appears on the decorated altar of St Ambrose, presented by Archbishop Angilbert of Milan in 885 A.D.[4] There were also found in St Cuthbert's grave some wooden fragments which, pieced together, showed an incised Latin cross, with hollow, rounded angles

[1] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. c. 2; Bohn transl., 109.
[2] Arthur C. Champneys, *Irish Eccl. Architecture*, Lond., 1910, 84.
[3] *The Hist. of St Cuthbert*, Lond., 1887, 218, 219, 318.
[4] Seroux Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, ii., taf. xxvi. B.

of the Northern early type. But Canon Greenwell is careful to point out that these pieces "do not belong to the lid, sides, or ends" of the coffin—a fact Professor Lethaby omitted to note in an account of Ruthwell Cross, wherein the cross is delineated as part of the coffin.[1] St Cuthbert's successor, Æthelweald (721), "caused a stone cross of curious workmanship to be made, and directed that his own name should be engraven upon it as a memorial of himself." It was decapitated by the Danes, then repaired and "constantly carried about with the body of St Cuthbert," till both reached Durham.[2] This cross was small if it was portable; of uncommon type, if it was of "*curious* workmanship" in 721. We have also the measurements of "the holy relic of St Cuthbert, called St Cuthbert's Cross," set up near Neville's Cross, which a mediæval writer considered "*very large*"—"being a fair cross of wood, finely wrought and very large, in height *two yards*, which there long stood and continued."[3] This does not corroborate Professor Lethaby's statement that "we know from sufficient authority that tall crosses were set up in England during the seventh century," an assertion which he supports by a reference to a Life of Willibald (born *c.* 700), where a "great cross" and the custom of the Saxons having the "standard of the Holy Cross lifted up on high" are mentioned.[4] The fact does not imply more than the existence of the high-crosses of altars, and processional crosses on staves, like the Cross of Cong, with the elevated prominence given to the Sign. For example, the epitaph of Bishop Wilfrith—"and he placed here the trophy of the cross of shining ore uplifted high,"—does not suggest a high-cross of silver or gold.[5] The cross which "seven of Gregory's people" carried from Rome to St Columba, called in the preface to the *Altus Prosator* "the Great Gem of Columcille," was preserved till the sixteenth century in the island of Tory, where it was known as the Great Cross, "*crux magna vulgo appellatur*."[6] It could not be large to be so portable. A charter mentioning a "Great Cross" at Medehamstede is a forgery.[7] Crosses are uplifted on great stones in Brittany to this day (Pl. VIII. fig. 1). But there is no proof that tall crosses, far less high, ornate, superbly fabricated crosses, never to mention the wheel-cross, existed in Northumbria in the seventh century. The fact

[1] Greenwell, *Catalogue*, 155; *Architect. Review*, xxxii. 189, 60.
[2] Symeon, *Hist. Church Durham*, c. xii. 642, edit. Stevenson.
[3] Eyre, *Hist. of St Cuthbert*, 313, citing *Rites of Durham*, 25 (Surtees Soc., 1842).
[4] *The Burlington Mag.*, cxi. 146, quoting *Pal. Pil. Texts*: S. Willibald, 4.
[5] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, v. 19.
[6] Reeves, *Adamnan*, 319.
[7] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 27.

that Benedict Biscop brought transmarine craftsmen (675), and Bishop Wilfrith also introduced transmarine artificers who richly decorated the Church of St Andrew in Hexham (672–678), suggests the possibility of the production of symbols of the type then in use.[1] No manual, illuminated manuscript, or undoubted relic of these early centuries depicts a cross, like Ruthwell, of the Northumbrian type. The mention in Symeon's *Interpolatio* of the two crosses placed at the head and foot of the grave of Acca, bishop of Hexham, who died in 740, affords no proof that the carved monuments were placed there immediately after his death, or were the work of a native artist educated in the Northumbrian school.[2] The Commendatore Rivoira, considering the dissimilarity in composition, design, and execution, when compared with those at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, considers the Acca cross the work of an artist from the school of Ravenna, who had a model for his vine design on the tomb of Theodota (720).[3] Rivoira, while believing that the two monuments "belong to the same school, though the work of two different artists," says: "The age of the Bewcastle Cross, if I am not mistaken, is not earlier than about the first half of the twelfth century. And the same is true of the other well-known cross at Ruthwell."[4] After an elaborate examination of all the monuments in Scotland, Dr Joseph Anderson laid down the general principle: "We assign the decorated monuments of Scotland to a period later than the commencement of the tenth century, and the incised monuments to the period immediately preceding."[5] In a subsequent maturer work the same author places the crosses of Bewcastle and Ruthwell in the category of monuments which developed out of a simpler class, namely Class II., whose prevalence is marked in the ninth and tenth centuries. He does not venture upon a *terminus a quo* for crosses of that elaborate type, but the inference is that the Bewcastle, Ruthwell, and other high-crosses may be sought for in and after the tenth century.[6] We concur. His collaborator, Mr J. Romilly Allen, as emphatically asserts: "The claim of the crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle to be of the seventh century must, we think, be abandoned; and, of course, the same applies to all other

[1] Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, i. 175 (quoting Ælred, *De Sanctis Eccl. Hagulstadensis*): "Wilfridus adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis, miro lapideo tabilatu . . . picturis et cœlaturis multipharium decoravit."

[2] *Ibid.*, 35 note: "Duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili cælatura decoratæ positæ sunt una ad caput alia ad pedes ejus." Cf. Haverfield and Greenwell, *A Catal. of Sculpt. Stones*, 53.

[3] *Burlington Mag.*, cix., xxi. 25.

[4] *Ibid.*, 23

[5] *Scot. in Early Christ. Times* (2nd series), 96.

[6] *Early Christ. Mons.*, pt. i., cv, cxiii.

monuments which exhibit this style of decoration." [1] With equal definiteness Miss M. Stokes and Count Plunkett conclude: "As eleventh-century monuments these crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle would naturally fall into their place in the development of the arts of sculpture and design during this period, while as seventh-century monuments they are abnormal and exceptional."[2] The somewhat similar Runic high-crosses of the Isle of Man are assigned by the Rev. J. G. Cummings to a late date: "The age of these crosses must lie between A.D. 888 and 1266. They are probably of the latter part of the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries." [3] All these pronouncements are out of harmony with the conclusions of Professor Lethaby, who accepts Bewcastle Cross as a dated work (670–1) along with St Cuthbert's coffin (698), is in favour of the priority of Ruthwell Cross, and is satisfied that "its art types were derived from Coptic sources." [4] Professor Lethaby's paper entitled "The Ruthwell Cross" has as one of its illustrations a sketch of the crucifix, with a nude Christ upon it, said by him to be of Eastern type—"an early form — the prototype of this subject in Irish books and sculptures." [5] The succeeding section in this work will show that such a representation of the Crucifixion was not permissible in the age of St Cuthbert.

Sir Martin Conway, while acknowledging that "excellent sculpture dating from the seventh century" in England "is naturally disconcerting to foreign students," in the main supports Professor Lethaby's views, contends for a capable Anglian school of sculptors, and actually asserts: "Inscriptions indicate 670 as about the date of the Bewcastle Cross, and 680 as about that of the Ruthwell Cross." [6]

Much more acceptable than this is the recent pronouncement of Professor Cook that these crosses, with all their details, when considered in the light of cultural antecedents, national necessities, and environment, point to the middle of the twelfth century, "when the rule of David was at its height," as the period most likely to have inspired their founders and sculptors.[7] But there are other weighty reasons for a preference for an earlier date.

[1] *Mon. Hist. of Brit. Church*, 159.
[2] *Early Christ. Art in Ireland*, 1911, 109.
[3] *The Runic . . . Remains of the Isle of Man*, 1857, 8.
[4] *Architect. Review*, xxxii. 189, 61, 63; *Burlington Mag.*, cxi., xxi. 146.
[5] *Architect. Review*, xxxii. 189, 62, "The Ruthwell Cross."
[6] *Burlington Mag.*, cxii., xxi. 193, "The Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses."
[7] *The Date*, etc., 361 (149).

Bewcastle Cross: North Face.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 96.

2. *The Crucifix*

It is highly probable—it is almost certain—that the crucifix was not used as a sacred symbol on any ecclesiastical object in Northumbria till long after the time of St Cuthbert, not till after the second Trullan Council—*Concilium Quinisextum*—in 692, in the reign of the Emperor Justinian II. It was then decreed: "In certain venerable pictures and images, the Precursor, St John, is represented pointing with his hand towards the Lamb of God. We adopted this representation as a symbol of grace . . . we determine that for the future in images (εἰκόσιν) of Christ, our God, He shall be represented (ἀναστηλοῦσθαι) in His human form, instead of the Lamb, as in former times." [1] Can the theologian imagine the modest St Cuthbert, or the artistic genius of Ruthwell, forestalling this edict and giving the lead, as well as the model of the crucifix, to the iconolaters of Byzantium? Pope Adrian I. transmitted that injunction to Tarasius, bishop of Constantinople, nearly one hundred years afterwards, showing that the determination was not universally immediate in its effect.[2]

With reverential awe the early Church shrank from delineating Christ as the Sufferer, "the Hung," the Crucified upon the Cross. There were four stages of development of the crucifix out of the simple cross as Cardinal Bona noted the progress: (i.) the simple cross; (ii.) the cross with the lamb (or Christ) at the foot of it; (iii.) Christ clothed, with hands uplifted in prayer, but not nailed to the tree; (iv.) Christ affixed with four nails, still living, and with open eyes; (v.) Christ dead—this not till the tenth or eleventh century.[3] This statement, in the main, is corroborated by authorities—Didron,[4] Hochart,[5] Crosnier,[6] Hemans,[7] Schnaase,[8] Milman,[9] Lundy,[10] Withrow,[11]

[1] Lundy, *Monumental Christianity* (citing Didron), 251; Hefele, *Councils*, transl., Edin., 1896, v. 234, No. 82.

[2] Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching of the Primitive Church*, 252, quoting Labbe, vi. 1177: *De Consecr. Dist.*, iii. c. 29. According to Anderson, *Scot. in Early Christ. Times*, 83 note: "The mosaic in the Oratory erected by Pope John VII. in honour of the Virgin (A.D. 705–707) was one of the first instances in which the Crucifixion was represented publicly and officially."

[3] Milman, *Hist. of Christianity*, iii. 398, citing Bona, *De Cruce Vaticana*.

[4] *Christian Iconography*, transl., Lond., 1886, i. 259, 260.

[5] *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, Paris, 1890, 382–6.

[6] *Iconographie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1848, 96.

[7] *A Hist. of Ancient Christianity*, Lond., 1866, 531–5.

[8] *Geschichte der bildende Kunst*, iii. 216, cited by Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ix. 325.

[9] *Hist. of Christianity*, Lond., 1892, 398, 399.

[10] *Monumental Christianity*, Lond., 1889, 253.

[11] *The Catacombs of Rome*, Lond., 1888, 276.

Lindsay,[1] Anderson,[2] Drews,[3] and many others. And the development was far from being rapid.

Very graphically Canon Farrar stated the conclusions of archæologists : " In the sixth century we have the cross but not the Crucified. . . . Not till the eighth century is Christ represented on the cross to the *public* eye : but even then it is a Christ free, a supreme sovereign, with eyes open, with arms unbound : living, not dead ; majestic, not abject. . . . In the earlier centuries the transient anguish was never contemplated save as the condition of unending and unimaginable joys. . . . But in the tenth century . . . there set in the full flood of realistic art. Then first did Christians venture to represent Christ dead." [4] In another passage he says : " In the tenth century there are some crucifixes, but the Crucified is represented in long robes, majestic and beneficent. The idea was always that of Christ reigning from the tree, according to the old reading of the psalm (Ps. xcvi. 10)—*regnavit e ligno.* In the four following centuries the robe is gradually stripped off, and the physical agony unscripturally emphasised." [5]

As M. Bayet has well said, the crucifix indicates the change from the old joyful art and theology to the new and doleful.[6]

Clearly the crucifix sculptured on Ruthwell Cross is of a late type, displaying the human figure but partially clothed with a short skirt, knotted loin-cloth such as is seen on early Egyptian servitors, or semi-tunic reaching from the waist to above the knees. The Crucified is dead. Such a figure is never seen on very early crosses or crucifixes. Of the thirteen bronze crosses, illustrative of early Coptic art, illustrated by Strzygowski, not one is a crucifix.[7] Miss Stokes could not find a single example of a crucified Christ

[1] *Sketches of the Hist. of Christ. Art,* Lond., 1847, 90, 91, citing Raoul-Rochette, *Discours,* 60.

[2] *The Early Christian Monuments of Scot.,* pt. i., Introd. xlviii, note 3.

[3] *The Christ-Myth,* transl., Lond., 1911, 160, citing Detzel, *Christ. Ikonographie,* 1894, 392 *sqq.*

[4] *The Life of Christ as represented in Art,* Lond., 1894, 400, 401, 402.

[5] *Ibid.,* 401. In another informative passage Farrar writes, 355 : " In the first representations of Christ upon the Cross He is always clothed in a long *colobium,* which was a sleeveless tunic like the Greek *exomis.* It was originally a senatorial tunic, afterwards adopted by priests and monks. The artists of later days did not shrink from representing Him only in a short tunic, and ultimately with nothing but a cincture (Fleury, lxxvii. 1)."

[6] *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la Peinture,* etc., Paris, 1879, 129 : " Le jour où apparut enfin sur les monuments le Christ crucifié, bien des âmes durent être blessées : ce fut comme une défaite de l'idéal. L'image douloureuse et sanglante allait occuper dans l'art nouveau la même place que le Bon Pasteur avait occupée dans l'art primitif."

[7] *Koptische Kunst,* Vienna, 1904, 304, taf. xxxiv.

upon a cross during the era of pure early Irish art.[1] The same may be said of pure early Anglian art. The crucifix was an ornament and object of devotion in the Anglo-Saxon Church. But of the numerous illustrations of the crosses of North England figured in the works of Greenwell and Calverley, not one bearing a crucifix with the Christ *dead* upon the tree is represented. And when the crucifix is made, the figure of the Crucified, in all instances save that of Ruthwell, is rude, and in some cases even hideous, both in England and Scotland. We have in the *Pontifical* of Ecgbeorht, Archbishop of York (732–766), an office for the dedication of a cross. It is therein addressed as "the trophy of Thy victory and our redemption." But there is no indication that a crucifix is meant, or that any object different from a "crux," or "lignum crucis," or "lignum"—the tree—was in use.[2]

The same conclusions hold good for Scotland. Only nine examples of the crucified Christ carved on stone are catalogued, and another cross-slab in Carstairs may be added to the number.[3] All of them, Ruthwell excepted, indicate elementary art in figure-drawing, and must be classed as late productions. Dr Joseph Anderson asserts that "there are no known representations of the crucified figure sculptured in relief before the ninth century except two—the crucifix of Sorolo and the Santo Volto of Lucca. In all other representations of the Crucifixion earlier than the ninth century the figure of the Saviour is painted, engraved, or enamelled on the cross."[4]

[1] *Early Christian Art in Ireland*, 117–122.

An examination of high-crosses and shrines preserved in Ireland leads to interesting results. The cross of Muiredach, abbot of Monasterboice (900–923), displays a Christ, alive, without nimbus, with legs tied, and apparently nude. The contours left, however, suggest a short tunic. The sides show a scroll, and birds and beasts eating fruit. On the S.E. cross of Monasterboice the Christ is without nimbus, is chained and fettered, and is nude. It is also an early tenth-century work. The high-cross of Tuam, from the first half of the twelfth century, displays a bearded Christ, certainly dead, and wearing an Oriental crown and ornamented apron touching the knees. This "Crucified" is like a nude *Orante* treading upon a serpent on the Egyptian obelisk of the Lateran basilica, and also like a nude figure on an old Nubian temple at Kalabche : Lundy, 160, figs. 63, 65, 66. The shrine of St Maughan, of the twelfth century, shows figures, with long Egyptian-like faces. They wear loin-cloths. The silver *domnach* from the Abbey of Clones, of the eleventh or twelfth century, bears a Christ in a short kilt. A cross in Glendalough is carved with a Christ clad in a short apron.

[2] *Surtees Soc. Publication*, 1853, xxvii. 111–113.

[3] J. R. Allen, *Early Christ. Mon. Scot.* : Camuston Cross, 252 ; Monifieth (4), 265 ; Kingoldrum, 226, 257 ; Abernethy (4), 311 ; Strathmartine (4), 252 ; Kirkcolm, 482, 3 ; Lasswade, 423 ; Ruthwell, 442, 515 ; Kirkipol, pt. i., xxvii note. Stuart gives illustrations of later crosses at Kilkerran, ii, liv ; Kilmichael, lviii ; Kilchoman, lxvi ; M'Lean's, Iona, xlii ; Kilmorie, xxxiii ; Kilchoman, xxxiv ; Oransay, xxxviii ; Kirkipol, lii ; Glassary, lviii ; Kirkcolm, lxx. Captain White, in *Archæol. Sketches*, Edin., 1875, shows crucifixes with short tunics on figures in West Highlands, pls. ix., xvi., xxxii.

[4] *Ibid.*, pt. i., introd. xlviii, n. 3.

The crucifix which bears the strongest resemblance to that on Ruthwell Cross is the gold pectoral crucifix preserved in Aix-la-Chapelle, whereon the Crucified with cruciferous nimbus appears as if dead ; the apron, reaching to the knees, is knotted on the left thigh.[1] The arms are outstretched straight. The bearded Christ has flowing locks. His limbs are roundly moulded. Otto III., it is said, found it in the grave of Charlemagne (†814) (Pl. VIII. fig. 3). But it is more likely that this sacrilege was not committed, and that the precious bejewelled Carolingian relic dates from Otto's time (983–1002). La Croix delineates an almost identical specimen in a Byzantine jewelled reliquary brought from the Iberian monastery of Mount Athos, and dating from the tenth century.[2] The arms are bent ; the cruciferous head is dead ; the apron is knotted in the centre. Neither of these examples has the orbs—sun and moon—which later artists made to rest upon either side of the transom of the cross. One rounded object appears on Ruthwell Cross. Imagination can easily transform into figures, such as were commonly depicted in the Crucifixion scene, the shapeless and rough protuberances on the stone on both sides of the crucifix. They indicate either the two soldiers, the two malefactors, or Mary and John. A small crucifix is visible.

In theological and historical writings the new word *crucifixum* is of very late occurrence. The earliest reference given by Du Cange is to John Iperius (*Chron. Sith. S. Bert.*), under date 877, when King Charles sent a golden crucifix (*aureum crucifixum*) to Pope John. In the charters attested, if not written by St Dunstan, in the tenth century, every Latin and Græco-Latin word for the cross except *crucifixum* is used. In the *Life of St Dunstan*, when his biographer Osbern (1070) refers to the incident of the crucifix speaking at Winchester, he uses a circumlocution, "*Dominici corporis forma vexillo crucis infixa*"—the figure of the Lord's body fixed in the standard of the cross,—as if the crucifix were an object so uncommon as to have no descriptive term. In similar paraphrase another biographer, Eadmer (1124), styles the crucifix "*crucifixi Dei imago signo crucis affixa*"—the image of crucified God fixed in the sign of the cross.[3]

It is also worthy of notice that the author of *The Dream of the Holy Rood*, whatever date may be assigned to that work, saw a cross, not a crucifix, in his vision : "I beheld a beauteous tree uplifted in the air . . . the cross

[1] J. H. Kessel, *Geschichtliche Mittheilungen über die Heiligthümer der Stiftskirche zu Aachen*, 1874, 70.

[2] *Les Arts au Moyen Age*, 133, fig. 89.

[3] Stubbs, *Memorials of St Dunstan*, Lond., 1874, 113, 212.

of glory shining in splendour graced with hangings and adorned with gold. Worthily had *jewels covered over all that forest tree.*" [1] Then after "He mounted up upon the lofty gallows" he makes the tree say: "All bedewed with blood was I gushing from the Hero's side, when He had yielded up His spirit.... With silver and gold they decked me" (*i.e.* after Christ had been taken down and left the cross for ever). The conceptions of the author are those of a thinker in the superstitious age of iron, in the tenth century, when, as Farrar wrote, "first did Christians venture to represent Christ dead and splashed with blood."[2] In a similar way the mysterious Cynewulf does not refer to the crucifix. In the *Elene*, or *The Recovery of the Cross*, the cross is styled "the beacon . . . the cross of Christ," "the victor tree," "victor token," "beacon of God," "victorious sign" (*sigebeacne*, as on Bewcastle Cross), "tree of victory," "the holy Rood . . . fairest of all trees," "the wondrous sign of God." In the *Christ* the cross is described as "brightest of beacons." [3]

The poems are older than the crucifix on Ruthwell Cross, but not necessarily much older; and not earlier than the tenth century can we predicate the production of this crucifix in Ruthwell.

The two orbs—sun and moon—were symbols used to indicate the great powers adoring Jesus; but in the case of the Crucifixion they were veiled and eclipsed. They appear upon the crucifix of St Valentine, on an early cross at Aycliffe, County Durham,[4] and on a tenth-century plaque in the Munich Museum.[5] In the MacDurnan Gospels (925) in Lambeth Palace, formerly presented by King Æthelstan to Christ Church, Canterbury, a full-page illumination of the Crucifixion shows the two orbs above the transom of the cross. With figures on the orbs they are found on a crucifix on the gold altar-front in Aix-la-Chapelle (1000) and on the bronze door of San Zenone, Verona (eleventh or twelfth century).[6]

3. *The Vine*

Of the Vine as a Christian symbol, and the Tree of Life as another primitive emblem, and of the flowers, enough has been said in the chapter descriptive of foliaceous sculpture.[7] Among the complementary emblems, clusters

[1] The italics are the writer's. See Kennedy's translation, 308, 309.

[2] *The Life of Christ . . . in Art*, 402.

[3] *Poetry of the Codex Vercellensis*, pt. ii., *Elene* (Ælfric Soc.), 1856, lines 217, 324, 336, 840, 1719, 1927; Kennedy's transl., 90, 92, 115, 122, 126; *Christ*, 185.

[4] Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, 39, pref., illust.

[5] Ashmolean Museum (Westwood Collection), F. i. 361 (No. 398, M.B. Mus.).

[6] Copies in Victoria and Albert Museum.

[7] *Antea*, p. 81.

of grapes represented the joys of the Promised Land (Numbers xiii. 23, grapes of Eshcol), or the eucharistic joys of those feeding upon Christ, the True Vine, the partakers being represented by doves. The sportive creatures, squirrels, lacertine animals, despoiling the fruit, while partly a reminder of "the little foxes that spoil the vines" (Song of Sol. ii. 15), might be survivals from the older mythologies. To a Levantine or Alexandrian sculptor the little sun-birds, *Nectariniidæ*, revelling among the fruits and flowers, would afford a suggestive emblem. The figure of one of the birds closely resembles that of the missel-thrush when seen in autumn clinging to a twig laden with rowan-berries. It, too, is a migrant.

4. *The Falconer and Hawk*

Professor Cook, describing the Bewcastle Obelisk, says: "The lowest figure . . . is that of a falconer with a bird of prey on his wrist." [1] To illustrate this subject he offers elaborate references to Anglo-Saxon and to early English hawking, and says "it would not be unreasonable to assume that this panel was executed when Norman landowners had secured influential positions in Northern England and Southern Scotland. . . . No sculptor would have commemorated a mere professional falconer on such a cross. It is conceivable that if such a royal or noble personage had been responsible for the erection of the cross he might have been portrayed upon it either at his own instance, or as a compliment on the part of the sculptor or of some ecclesiastical body interested in the monument and its purposes." [2] An early precedent exists for such an association—the portraits of the Emperor Justin and the Empress Augusta being figured on a cross in the Vatican presented by them to St Peter's Church.[3] A much earlier example is seen on a wall-painting from Thebes, whereon a scribe of the royal granaries is depicted with his hawks amid birds, fishes, and lotus plants, during the eighteenth or nineteenth dynasty (1600–1200 B.C.).[4] But Professor Cook does not suggest a name for the noble huntsman. There did exist a West-Saxon Nimrod in the middle of the tenth century, of noblest origin and position, a landowner in the vicinity, who satisfies all the requirements of the case, even to the long locks of hair worn by the English thegn. It was Wulfric, probably the most powerful layman of his time, the favourite of Kings Eadmund, Eadred, and Eadwig, *miles*, *minister*, *comes*, *thegn*, *princeps*, who received more grants

[1] *Date*, 237 (25).
[2] *Ibid.*, 281 (69).
[3] Bayet, 122.
[4] Brit. Mus., Egypt. Room III., Case I., 37,977.

of land than any other courtier of that age, and a brother of the great abbot who guided and was to guide the spiritual destinies of united England—St Dunstan.[1] The portrait of "Wulfric Cild," probably by St Dunstan, is preserved.[2] The charter by which King Eadred granted to him in 946 (on his conquest of the North) land beside the fort of Workington, forty miles from Bewcastle, and twenty-four from Ruthwell, is a striking one. It was signed by Cadmo, without the sign of the cross, and among others by "Hothæl regulus," "Osulf Hæhgerefa" (*i.e.* high-reeve at Bamborough), "Dunstan abbud."[3] Was Wulfric placed there as a warden of the marches? Three years afterwards we find Cadmon attesting a grant to Æthelmær in Buckinghamshire, and then making the sign of the cross. Was this Æthelmær an artist and rood-maker?[4] In 956 we find King Eadwig, in the highest terms of praise, granting lands at Seale and Dunnynghefd to "my dear, faithful, *most famous* HUNTER, by name Wulfric — *meo dilecti, fideli, famossissimo venatori, nomine Wulfrico, mansam et dimidiam, etc.*"[5] Thereafter Wulfric disappears from the charters. The death and burial (in Glastonbury Monastery?), without a date given, of Dunstan's "brother germane," a "powerful reeve," is recorded in the saint's Life.[6] It was thus possible for a royal reeve in Cumberland to erect a cross to commemorate past triumphs, and notably that mentioned in the grant of Workington, the recent assumption of the Northern diadem by King Eadred — "primo temporalis cicli laterculo quo sceptra diadematum Angulsaxna cum Northymbris Paganorum cum Brettonibus gubernabat"—and also to have himself commemorated on the monument.[7]

There are other explanations more in keeping with the other symbolical

[1] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 472, 473, 555, 576 (Workington), 581, 594, 600; iii. 31, 37, 99, 155, etc.

[2] In *Liber Sancti Dunstani*, Halton MSS., Bodleian.

[3] *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 576, No. 815; Kemble, ccccxi; Smith's *Bœda*, App., 772.

[4] *Cart. Sax.*, iii. 38.

The Brussels Reliquary of the True Cross has this inscription (trans.): "Rood is my name: of old I bore the mighty King, trembling, bedewed with blood. This rood had Æthelmær made, and Æthelwold his brother, to the glory of Christ, for the soul of Ælfric their brother." This clearly shows a correspondence with *The Dream of the Rood*. Cf. Cook, *Date*, 247, 248 (23, 36). It is noteworthy that the reformer of the Benedictine Order, and the head of the famous school of art in Winchester, in Archbishop Dunstan's day, was Æthelwold I., formerly abbot of Abingdon, and student at Fleury. He was consecrated bishop of Winchester in 963, and occupied the see till 984. His life was written by Ælfric. Searle, *Anglo-Saxon Bishops*, 72 (citing Ælfric, *Life of St Æthelweald* in *Lib. Elien.*, ii. 1 ff.). Cook thinks "no expert . . . would date it (above inscription) earlier than 1000": *Date*, 248 (36). This, at least, gives us two Anglo-Saxon makers of a rood about the year 1000, or earlier.

[5] *Cart. Sax.*, iii. 155, 156, No. 968.

[6] Stubbs, *Vita S. Dunstani*, 28.

[7] *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 576–7, No. 815.

representations on the Obelisk. The cock was one of the earliest bird-symbols, and Miss Louisa Twining gives an illustration from a bas-relief in the Catacombs which displays a cock perched upon a pillar, with St Peter standing by, and the Saviour also, the latter appearing to warn him of his denials.[1] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records in 946: "Eadred ætheling . . . reduced all Northumberland under his power: and the Scots gave him oaths that they would all that he would." Similar oaths had proved illusory before. The symbol of infidelity was needed there. The falconer lacks a nimbus, however.

There is another symbol which would appeal to an Oriental syncretistic artist, or to a peacemaker rearing a Christian cross in a semi-pagan region. According to the ancient Accadian faith, "a divine storm-bird," which was also a bird of prey, brought from heaven lightning, fire, and the knowledge of fire, as well as the power to read the future. That revealer passed into the Zu of the Semitic epoch, and was akin to Prometheus and Thoth the Egyptian scribe and inventor of writing. Nebo, the minister of Merodach (Bel), was given a somewhat similar function to Prometheus. He wrote the first book, taught men the elements of culture, became a sun-god, and was the representative of Babylonian learning. The staff he wielded when marshalling the hosts of heaven became the rod of the scribes. He too was accompanied by a sacred bird.[2]

Cumont, in his work on the Mysteries of Mithra, illustrates Sabazius, staff in his left hand, and a bird perched upon his right hand.[3] The sacred bird is shown perched upon the mantle of Mithra when he kills the bull.[4] Mithraism, Bel-worship, or sun-worship survived long in England and on the Borders, where the Romans left their Mithraic tablets, as the sequel shows. The eagle was also a Hebrew emblem for the spirit. In an Anglo-Saxon MS. of the eleventh century, an eagle perched on a sceptre is figured as if inspiring the psalmist David: a double-headed eagle was depicted beside the ear of the prophet Elisha.[5]

5. *The Sacred Birds on Ruthwell Cross*

A. *South Face.*—This bird, carved as if attacking or approaching a man, is usually identified with the eagle-symbol of St John the Evangelist and

[1] *Symbols and Emblems*, Lond., 1852, 178, pl. lxxxviii.

[2] Sayce, *Hibbert Lect.* (*On the Origin of Religion, Babylon*), 1887, 293–4; *Gifford Lect.* (*Rel. Anc. Egypt.*), 1903, 362–364.

[3] *Textes et Mon. . . . Mystères de Mithra*, Bruxelles, 1894, fasc. ii. 220, fig. 50.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 317, fig. 179; 365, fig. 251. [5] Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*, 64, pl. xxxi.

(1) ᚠᚢᚦᚩᚱᚳᚷᚹᚻᚾᛁᛄᛇᛈᛉᛋᛏᛒᛖᛗᛚᛝᛟᛞᚪᚫᚣᛡᛠ
f u th ō r k g w h n i j k p x s t b e m l ng d o a ae y ea

(2) ᚨᚩᛒᚻᚦᚹᛗᚠᚷᛋᛁᛇᛈᛦᛗᚾᛟᚨᚱᚲᚷᚻᚾᛁᛃᛈᛇᛉᛋᛏᛒᛖᛗᛚᛝᛞᛟ
þ þ q s x

(3) ᚠᚢᚦᚩᚱᚳᚷᚹᚻᚾᛁᛄᛇᛈᛉᛋᛏᛒᛖᛗᛚᛝᛞᛟᚪᚫᚣᛡᛠ

ANGULISCUM.

(4) ABECIDARIUM NORD: ᚠᛒᚦᚩᚱᚴᚼᚾᛁᛅᛋᛏᛒᛦᛚᛘᛦ
f u th o r k h n i m s t b æ l y r g n.

(1.) Codex Sangallens, 270: Cooper's Report, App. A, 84 Plate ii. i. (9th cent)

(2.) Ibid Plate ii, ii. (Haenel, 683). (3: 4.) Ibid. Pl. iii, Codex S 878.

Fig. 1. Runic Alphabets, St Gall.

Fig. 2. Spital Cross, Hexham.

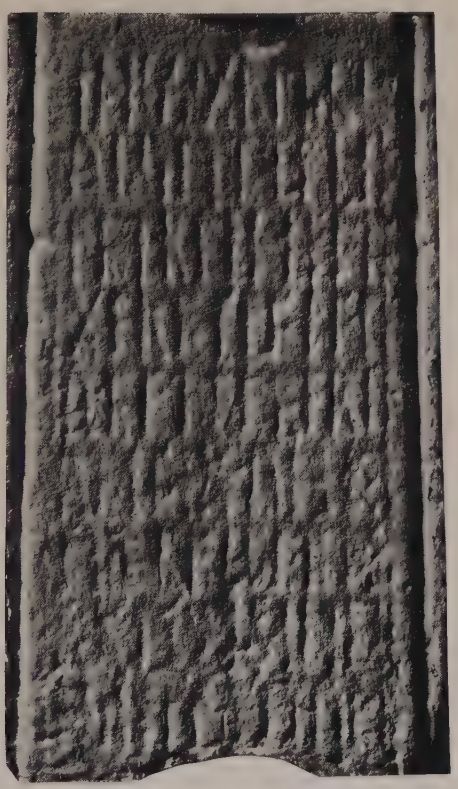


Fig. 3. Bewcastle Runes. *Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie, from cast taken in* 1913.

Fig. 4. Spital Cross.

To face page 104.

Revealer, on account of the fact that round the margins are inscribed the remains of the words "IN PRINCIPIO VERBUM." The pose is peculiar for such a well-known symbol of the mystical student of the Lord's divine nature. It might as fitly refer to the eagle of Jupiter, which preyed upon the liver of Prometheus, the revealer of light, as shown upon an archaic style preserved in the Vatican.[1] And quite as likely it might represent the raven bringing the loaf to St Anthony, as exemplified on the Cross of Tuam.

With some emblematic meaning, birds are found on numerous stones and crosses in Scotland, England, and Ireland, just as they are seen in the old Coptic cemeteries of Egypt.[2]

B. *North Face.*—The eagle-like bird clutching a fruit-laden branch is most probably the phœnix, emblem of the immortal risen soul—Psyche usually associated with Eros, the archer (Pl. VIII. fig. 4). Many have surmised it to represent an eagle clutching a thunderbolt, the symbol of St John, as represented in a tenth-century evangeliary in Brussels.[3] Birds of prey figured in ancient religions. In Mithraic sculpture the crow, cock, and eagle, the latter clutching a thunderbolt, are seen. The eagle is associated with sun-gods. The hawk, a sacred bird in Egypt, was perched on a pedestal beside the sun-god Horus.[4] In India a figure of an eagle perched on a pedestal is exhibited in front of temples dedicated to Krishna or Vishnu.[5] In the tree-mythology of East and West the eagle (Agni, or "the bird of Jove") on the tree-top is a prominent symbol of fire and fertility, light and life.[6] The Church in the West was in touch with the Church in the farthest East, and we read of King Alfred in 883 sending alms to Rome "and also to India to St Thomas and to St Bartholomew."[7] And William of Malmesbury records that Sighelm, bishop of Sherborne, took the alms, "penetrated successfully into India," and brought back "part of our Saviour's Cross, sent by Pope Marinus to the king."

An eagle, holding a thunderbolt, appears on the coinage of Ptolemy II.,

[1] P. Hochart, *Études d'Histoire Religieuse*, 345, citing Guigniaut, *Religions de l'Antiquité*, Pl. 158 bis, No. 683*a*.

[2] Allen, *var. loc.*; *Guide Early Christ. Antiq. Brit. Mus.*, 88.

[3] Lacroix, *Les Arts du Moyen Age*, 457.

[4] *Guide Mus. Caire*, 4750, fig. 115, p. 474.

[5] Oldham, *The Sun and the Serpent*, Lond., 1905, 81.

[6] The tympanum of Stoke-sub-Hamdon Church shows one bird on the top of a tree and two birds in the branches.

[7] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 66. In 801 Haroun al Raschid's (Caliph of Persia) present of an elephant to Charlemagne arrived at Court: Browne, *Alcuin of York*, 289, 302, 324. Elephants are figured on early Scots monuments.

Alexander Balas, Antiochus II., and Nero. In harmony with the beliefs of the sun-worshippers, the eagle (*Aquila*) became an astronomical symbol used to represent the winter solstice, because the very bright star *Altair* in that sign of the zodiac better indicated *Aquarius* and the idea of the new year.[1] The eagle symbolised both the new Apollo—Christ, " the light of the world " (St John viii. 12)—and the Apostle John.

Strzygowski and Crum illustrate the Egyptian form of the Christian symbol, the eagle holding a laurel branch in his talons.[2] An eagle clutching a book appears on the altar of St Ambrose (885).[3] In the Lindisfarne Gospel-book the Apostle John is depicted sitting and wearing a nimbus. A flying eagle, with nimbus, bearing in his talons a closed book, is drawn. Two inscriptions, namely, " *imago aequilae* " (*sic*), and " O AGIOS IOHANNES " (the latter in Anglo-Saxon capitals), prove how ill-versed in Latin and Greek the illuminator had been. Other Celtic illuminators utilised the figure of an eagle to represent the letter G.[4]

But the fabulous bird, the phœnix, was the Christian's emblem for the risen soul. According to Professor Sayce, it was immaterial at first what bird was selected to express pictorially the idea of a soul, and the legend of the phœnix, the " Bennu " of the Egyptians, grew up round the belief " that the disembodied soul could enter at will into the body of a bird." [5] The phœnix was allied to the hawk of Horus, who was a congener of the Babylonian sun-god Ninip or Merodach-Bel, and was styled " the Southern Sun." An eagle standing on a perch was " the symbol of the Southern Sun." [6] The myth of the phœnix after death rising immortal from its ashes was in circulation among Christians as early as the date of the first epistle of St Clement of Alexandria (*ob.* 220), and St Clement uses the myth to convey the idea of the resurrection and the triumph of the redeemed soul over death.[7]

[1] E. M. Plunket, *Ancient Calendars*, Lond., 1903, 66.

[2] Strzygowski, *Kopt. Kunst*, No. 7323 ; Crum, *Catal. Gen. Antiq. Egypt*, Nos. 8636, 8673, Plates 40, 41, 47.

[3] Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, ii., xxvi. fig. 14.

[4] *Das Psalterium Aureum*, Codex Nr. 671, St Gallen, 10, 16.

[5] *The Rel. of Anc. Egypt*, 80, 121.

[6] Bennu, the sacred bird of Osiris, so often invoked by the souls in Hades for deliverance, as the Book of the Dead shows, was the same as the swan of the Greeks, the eagle of the Romans, and the peacock of the Hindus. In the constellation of Phœnix the Dog-star rose at the time of the rising of the Nile. Thus the Bennu came to represent the new era and the new year together. Cf. R. S. Poole, *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, Lond., 1851, 42 ; Lundy, *Monumental Christianity*, 423.

[7] Cf. *Lactantius on the Phœnix*, ii. 214–219, *Ante-Nic. Lib.*, xxii.

The Anglo-Saxons got their knowledge of the phœnix from the *Physiologus* of Alexandria, and from the Latin poem of Lactantius upon "The Happy Land and the Phœnix that dwells there." The latter work was the source of an Anglo-Saxon poem entitled "The Phœnix," which is included in the Cynewulfian treasury.[1] A relative passage runs thus: The phœnix "full of winters . . . seeketh out the Syrian land with mighty train. . . . There in the forest wood it bides and habits in a lofty tree fast by its roots beneath the roof of heaven: which men on earth call phœnix from the name of that fowl . . . full of many years the phœnix burneth. . . . Then it hasteth away to seek again its native place, and *with its talons it graspeth the leavings of the fire*, claspeth them in its claws and seeketh again joyously its home, its sunbright seats, its blessed native land. . . . Then through all the earth men marvel at its beauty and its form, make it known in writings, *and with their hands grave it on marble stone*. . . . It buildeth with rarest twigs and herbs . . . a nest. . . . *Those are the plants, the flowers of fruit*, which *the wild fowl gathereth* . . . unto his abiding place where . . . it worketh a nest." [2]

After this one can have little doubt that the eagle-like bird was to the Christian worshipper at Ruthwell the symbol of the risen soul; at the same time it recalled to memory ancient popular ideas current among the pagans, which Christian culture clothed with a new meaning in keeping with the faith. The phœnix would be a favourite emblem for an Oriental artist. And it is also interesting to note that on a coin of Olaf of Northumbria, the royal convert from paganism in 943, along with the sign of the cross there appears a bird not unlike those carved upon Coptic stelæ.[3]

6. *The Archer*

The archer was originally a sky-god. A man with a charged drawn bow forms a symbol from time immemorial, and it was appropriated by Christian symbolists from the ancient religions in the cradle of the race. It is met with in connection with solar worship, and on the relics of the worship of Mithras, Bel, and Apollo in Britain. Long before the Christianisation of Northumbria, victors and vanquished along the route of Hadrian's Wall, near which

[1] *Codex Exoniensis*, 197–242.

[2] *The Poems of Cynewulf*, C. W. Kennedy's trans., 317, 318, 320, 322, 325, 326. The italics are by the present writer.

[3] Grueber, *Handbook*, 20, No. 117; Strzygowski, No. 7294.

sixteen Mithraic altars have been found, might have sung in Kipling's words :

> " Mithras, God of the morning, our trumpets waken the wall :
> Rome is above all the nations, but thou art over all."

Sun-worship was a serious rival to the Christian faith. The glamour of solar reverence made St Patrick even invoke the " power of heaven,"[1] *i.e.* the light of the sun. In the Mithraic cult it was Sagittarius, the archer, who slew the Bull of Darkness ; consequently that sign of the zodiac is always found in the pictorial framework surrounding the image of Mithras, styled on his altars DEI SOLIS INVICTI MYTRAE.[2] A sacred bird accompanies the archer.[3] A figure of an archer on the Heidelberg tablet almost corresponds with that on Ruthwell.[4]

The bow was a symbol of Apollo. Merodach (*i.e.* Bel, the son of Bel) " bore the bow of the deluge " or the " bow of Anu," and is identified with each of the signs of the zodiac. The bow became a symbol of power. It was stamped on the Parthian coinage, as well as on that of Reginald I. of York (921, 929). An archer whose headpiece bore a cross was a distinction on the standard of the Assyrian King Sargon II. (722–705 B.C.).[5] Sagittarius, or the Chief Centaur, was identical with Chiron, who, according to the Rig Veda, was a renowned hunter, prophet, and " a chief physician among physicians." [6]

The Rev. John Hodgson was of opinion that Mithras continued to be worshipped at Housesteads, on Hadrian's Wall, until A.D. 253.[7] But solar worship must have survived long after Christianity had become the popular religion ; at least some of its rites and customs, with a loss of their original significance, were continued and survive. The burning of the " clavie " in Burghead, the " deisil " or turning sun-wise at funerals, passing through fire, the Beltein festivals, and other " freits," are survivals till now. In 926 several Northern kings, on their capitulation to King Æthelstan, renounced

[1] Todd, *St Patrick*, 1864, 427, hymn 4.

[2] *Arch. Æl.* (N.S.), 1857, i. 238, No. 51 ; *ibid.*, xxv. 256.

[3] Cumont, *Textes et Mon.*, fasc. ii. 266, 309, 310, 350 ; Lagarde, *Introd. à l'Étude du Culte de Mithra*, pl. xxv. No. 1, xxvi. No. 6.

[4] Cumont, *Textes*, iii. 345–6, pl. v. fig. 245.

[5] Perrot et Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, v. 508 ; Layard, *Mon. of Nineveh*, pl. xxii.

[6] Wilson, *Rig Veda, Mandala*, ii., xxxiii. 4. The Centaur, with the body of a quadruped, had the bust and head of a man in the act of drawing a bow, as seen on the doorway of Cormac's Chapel, Rock of Cashel.

[7] *An Account Rom. Antiq. Mus. Chesters, Northumberland*, 179. Cf. this work for Mithraic altars, illust.

their "idolatry" at Eamot in Northumbria.[1] King Cnut (1017–1035) even found it necessary to enact for England a law forbidding various forms of idolatry: "And we earnestly forbid every heathenism: heathenism is that men worship idols: that is, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun or the moon, fire or rivers . . . or by 'blot' (*i.e.* offerings to idols)."[2] This statute lends credence to the statement that "Everard, the first abbot of Holme Cultram (Cumberland), who flourished in the latter half of the twelfth century, saw a pagan temple in the neighbourhood of his monastery, where the blood of captives used to be offered in sacrifice."[3] Holme Cultram Abbey lies about twenty-eight miles (as the crow flies) from Bewcastle. Clochmaben-stone, the last of a circle probably connected with Apollo-worship (Maponos), stands in Gretna, fourteen miles from the Abbey. If it could be shown that the camp at Bewcastle, where the woodland god, Mars Cocidius, was worshipped, was, as one might expect from its nearness to the Roman Wall, also a site for sun-worship (*i.e.* an Eâ-mote, or mound of Eâ), then the existence of Christian symbols similar to those used in Mithras-worship, along with the sun-dial carved on the Obelisk at Bewcastle, could be accounted for satisfactorily.[4] The same might be predicated of the Cross at Ruthwell. For a people still addicted to idolatry and conversant with these old and foreign symbols, it would be both politic and necessary for a dominant Christian ruler, or for the missionary artist, in spreading Christian truths pictorially, to utilise ideas and symbols common to the old faiths and to the new. Incidents thus selected from the story of the new Faith for illustration, would be acceptable because they had a resemblance to the popular myths of the time. Such adaptation we find on both these monuments. It was the policy of early British churchmen to act on the advice given by Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus (601 A.D.), not to destroy but to reconsecrate the monuments of idolatry.[5] The addition of a Christian symbol indicated the transference.

The Venerable Bede, who was well versed in Oriental chronology and science, mentions in his *De Temporum Ratione* that in England Sagittarius was the zodiacal sign for the month of December.[6] The early Christians used

[1] Some writers (Skene, etc.) discredit this reference to "idolatry."

[2] "The Laws of King Cnut" in *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, 1840, 162.

[3] Dr James Wilson, "An Augustinian Cathedral, Carlisle," in *Trans. Scot. Eccl. Soc.*, iii., pt. iii. (1912), 263.

[4] Cf. two altars to Cocidius found at Bewcastle, in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle: *Catal.*, 40, pl. ix.

[5] Bede, i., xxx.; Sellar's transl., 67.

[6] *Opera*, vi., cap. xvi., Giles' edit.

the emblem as the symbol of light—the Light of the World. And as the winter solstice now coincides very closely with the sun's entry into Sagittarius, the archer was the appropriate symbol, along with a babe, to represent the birth of a new year, as well as the dawn of the Light of the World. Christ, the light and life Giver, the Destroyer of darkness, the Reviver of the soul, the God of Love, represents the archer of the old cult.

The early Christians adopted the archer to represent Cupid or Eros, as a symbol of Divine Love, just as they had chosen the phœnix to represent Psyche, the undying soul. According to the pagan myth, Eros "roused Psyche with an innocuous touch of one of his arrows." [1] The archer shooting at the phœnix on Ruthwell Cross is the emblem of God's love for the soul. Examples of pictures of Cupid and Psyche are found in the catacombs of St Domitilla,[2] on the sarcophagus of St Callistus,[3] and on other ancient relics.[4] The same subject is engraved on Coptic bone relics dating from the seventh to the eighth century.[5]

Figures of archers as actors in hunting scenes are common on sculptured stones in Britain, but none are of very early date. With symbolical meaning, Sagittarius, or the Centaur, is carved on many churches, stones, fonts, tympana, and capitals throughout the three kingdoms. Examples are seen in Forres, Shandwick, St Vigeans, Meigle, Camuston, Bakewell, Bradbourne, Sheffield, Stoke-sub-Hamdon, Kencott, Salford, Darenth, Hook Norton, Hutton Cranswick (York Museum), Iffley, Malmesbury, Lullington, Adel, Kells, and other places.[6] Doubtless the symbol in most of these cases refers to Christ, the great destroyer of darkness and death—the Sagittarius and Eros of the old cults. In the British Museum there is preserved a little manuscript, commonly known as King Æthelstan's Psalter, which contains a tenth-century calendar, wherein an English artist, or Continental artist in England, has drawn and coloured the signs of the zodiac. One of these is Sagittarius. The archer, in green tunic, with bow, low cap, and legs coloured red, draws a bow charged with a barb-pointed shaft at an angle of 45°. He stands in front of a blue altar resting on a green base. Of this work Mr Herbert says :

[1] Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*, vi., Bohn's transl., 122.

[2] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. 16, fig. 7 ; Farrar, *Life of Christ in Art*, 33.

[3] Kraus, *Real-Encycl.*, i., fig. 27 ; i. 102, fig. 33.

[4] H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, Paris, 1907, 147, 148, figs. 33, 34, 35, 36.

[5] In Kensington Museum, Case 69, No. 826, Cupid, 830, Cupid and bird.

[6] J. R. Allen, *Notes on Early Christian Symbolism*, 433 *et seq.*, with illust. ; *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*, 1884. The font of Hutton-Cranswick shows Paul and Anthony, an archer, and an Agnus Dei rudely inscribed : Allen, *Notes*, 400.

PLATE XXII.

TABLE EXHIBITING VARIOUS READINGS OF THE RUNES ON BEWCASTLE CROSS.
Drawn by J. K. Hewison.

To face page 110.

" It may be taken as representing the best work of which English artists were at that time capable." [1] The archer on Ruthwell Cross might have been copied from the same drawing, so like are the two contemporary works.

7. *The Christ—Preaching and Blessing*

Eusebius describes what he saw in Paneas " on an elevated stone . . . a brazen image of a woman on her bended knee, with her hands stretched out before her like one entreating. Opposite to this there is another image of a man, erect, of the same materials, decently clad in a mantle and stretching out His hand to the woman. This statue, they say, is a statue of Jesus Christ ; and it has remained even until our times." [2] The historian further states that this monument stood at the gates of the woman healed of an issue of blood, as mentioned by the evangelists. Christ in the attitude of a preacher, with right hand uplifted in the act of benediction, and with left hand holding a roll, is depicted on the Cross and on the Obelisk in lines almost identical ; while again on the Ruthwell Cross Christ is displayed in a similar pose, but holding a book or tablet in His left hand. There are variations of detail, but the primary conception of a hero-like man distinguishes all three portraits in stone. They follow an ancient type. Each is, however, adorned with a cruciferous rayed nimbus. Mithra also carried the Tablets of Destiny in his hand. A simple nimbus distinguished the heads of the deities and heroes of the classical age, of the pagan emperors of Rome, of the Christian emperors of Constantinople, of angels, of the Apostles and their symbols, and also of the phœnix and the peacock. A cruciferous nimbus round Christ's head is displayed on a mosaic of the sixth century in the Church of S. Lorenzo, Rome.[3] The coffin of St Cuthbert, made in 698 (examined in 1104 and 1827) is incised with a full figure of Christ. His head is circled with a cruciferous

[1] The writer had the pleasure of examining this manuscript, along with the Lindisfarne Gospels, Alcuin's Bible, and other rare MSS., in the British Museum. It is catalogued Galba A. xviii. ; a 12mo, 200 fol. . . . The first illuminated folio has a scroll with birds and vine leaves : fol. 14 has the Sagittarius : fol. 10 has a figure nimbused, holding a book in the right hand ; left hand uplifted in benediction ; quite a model for the Majesty of Christ at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. Cf. J. A. Herbert, *Illum. MSS.*, Lond., 122.

[2] *Eccl. Hist.*, vii., xviii. Eusebius in *De Vita Constantini* (i., iii. c. 49) also alludes to symbols of " the Good Shepherd " on the fonts of Byzantium.

[3] Twining, *Symbols and Emblems*, 188, pl. xciii. 1, 2, 3. Each of the symbols of the Evangelists in the Lindisfarne Gospels is adorned with a nimbus, as are also the Evangelists themselves, who are seated beneath the symbols. The same is seen in the Church of St John Lateran, Rome, where the Evangelists are standing. In some early examples John the Baptist wears a nimbus ; in others not. Mithras wears a nimbus on the grand bas-relief found at Osterburken. Cumont, fasc. iii. 350, pl. vi., No. 246.

nimbus; His face is beardless; His right hand is uplifted in the act of preaching; His left hand holds a book; His feet are bare.[1] Dalton has reproduced a sketch of the figure of Christ found on a fourth-century sarcophagus at Sulu Monastir (Constantinople), who stands erect on naked feet, His head rich with long curling locks, and circled by a cruciferous nimbus, and His right hand lifted to His breast.[2] That this was one type for centuries is seen by a reference to an ivory of the ninth century displayed in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, on which we see under a round-headed panel a beardless Christ, with cruciferous nimbus, His right hand raised to bless, His left holding a book, and His feet bare.[3] In the Æthelstan Psalter, already referred to, an upright figure, holding a book, and with the right hand uplifted, is displayed. Twice on an early sarcophagus in the Vatican is Christ delineated, erect, His left hand holding a roll. He is clad in mantle, tunic, and pallium. A soldier holds a crown of thorns over His head.[4] The sarcophagus of Probus (Vatican Cemetery) delineates Christ standing among His Apostles, a cross in His right hand, a partly rolled roll in His left.[5] A portrait of Christ from St Aquilino in Milan, shows Christ sitting, His right hand uplifted, His left holding a book, and His feet in sandals.[6] A fresco in the vault of St Cecilia in the cemetery of Callistus shows Christ, book in hand, in the act of blessing.[7] On a sixth-century mosaic in the Church of St Cosmas and Damian, Rome, the Christ, preaching at Jordan, has a roll in His left hand.[8] Dalton gives illustrations of the Christ-figure from early gems, on one of which He appears with hand uplifted, and a book in the left hand; on another He is wearing a cruciferous nimbus.[9] In a Carlovingian ivory book-cover of the tenth century the transfigured Christ is shown with uplifted right hand and with a book in His left.[10] On a gold altar front in the treasury of Aix-la-Chapelle, of date 1000 A.D., the right hand of Christ holds a cross, the left a book. A perfect example of the neo-Oriental art can be seen in the Narthex of St Sophia at Constantinople, where the Saviour (*Pantocrator*) appears

[1] Haverfield and Greenwell, *Catal. Cathed. Lib. Durham*, illust. 142, 143.

[2] *Byzantine Art and Archæology*, Oxf., 1911, frontispiece, 128.

[3] No. F. 1, 117, Westwood Collection.

[4] A. De Waal, *Das Kleid des Herrn auf den frühchristlichen Denkmäleren*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1891–6, 14, fig. 12.

[5] *Ibid.*, 7, fig. 4.

[6] *Ibid.*, 8, fig. 5.

[7] Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, i. 74, fig. 45.

[8] *Ibid.*, i. 73, fig. 43. Twining, *Symbols*, etc., 132, pl. lxv., also gives this fine type.

[9] Dalton, *Cat. Early Christ. Antiq.*, 17, pl. iii. 106, 107.

[10] Victoria and Albert Museum, Case B, No. 253.

enthroned, right hand uplifted to bless, and inscribed book in hand. In this mosaic a Byzantine emperor is depicted kneeling at Christ's feet (*Deesis*); while two medallions indicate that this example represents Christ in glory with the Madonna and the Baptist by His side.[1] Kraus, in his work on Christian art, exhibits on the frontispiece a Christ preserved in an apsidal mosaic from St Pudenziana, Rome, where He is depicted on the throne of glory, with right hand uplifted, left holding book, and a nimbus. The same author also illustrates this seated Christ with book in hand from St Aquilino in Milan, and St Agata Maggiore in Ravenna.[2]

It may be concluded that throughout Christendom, long before and long after these Border crosses were erected, artists, illuminators, and sculptors had models in parchment manuals,[3] stone, mosaic, and ivory for the universally prevalent portraits and images of Christ as the Man preaching, the Saviour blessing, and the God of Glory judging men. The absence of many specimens from early English times may be accounted for by the misfortunes of the Anglo-Saxon Church—the ravages of the Danes, and the reforms of the Normans. In reference to the Christ in Glory, Mr J. R. Allen says: "The subject which occurs oftener than any other sculptured in the tympana over Norman doorways, both in this country and on the Continent, is Christ in Glory, as described in the Apocalypse. Our Lord is represented in His human form glorified, seated on a throne and holding a book in the left hand, whilst the right is raised in the act of giving the benediction."[4] A splendid example occurs on the tympanum of the central door of Chartres Cathedral, where Christ is surrounded by the four emblems of the Evangelists.[5] But this is surpassed by the lovely statue on the abutting pier of the central door, which represents Christ preaching and holding a clasped book.[6] Long locks curling to the shoulder, beard and moustache, a noble brow above a gentle face, a cruciferous nimbus, and bare feet are distinctions on this statue. He is standing upon a lion and a dragon, in allusion to Psalm xci. 13: "The young lion and the dragon shalt thou trample under feet." The whole conception, for beauty, rivals the exquisite "Le Bon Dieu" of Amiens Cathedral. A small, rude bronze pectoral crucifix

[1] Carotti, ii. 92, illust.

[2] *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1896, frontis., 221, figs. 180, 181.

[3] Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, iii., xxxi. fig. 1, copies a picture of Christ in the Synagogue holding the book, from the tenth-century *Menologion* of Emperor Basil II.

[4] *Notes*, 404, 445, 446. Cf. List, 446. With illust. 5, fig. 10.

[5] Margaret and Ernest Marriage, *The Sculptures of Chartres Cathedral*, 56, pl. 23.

[6] *Ibid.*, 238–240, with illust.

of the early Christian age, in the British Museum, shows Christ with His feet resting on the heads of two animals.[1] The pattern probably originated in Egypt, where the god Horus was sculptured with bare feet resting on the heads of two crocodiles [2] (Pl. XXV. fig. 3).

8. *Anointing the Lord's Feet*

The representation of "the woman in the city which was a sinner" (Luke vii. 37, 38) washing the Lord's feet with tears, wiping them with the hairs of her head, kissing and anointing them, was popular in the early Church. Asterius (362) mentions the fact that this incident and the miracle of the healing of the blind man were among other incidents embroidered on vestments.[3] Choricius of Gaza (*c.* 520) refers to a painting depicting the repentant woman.[4] Rohault de Fleury records a sixth-century representation in St Apollinare, Ravenna, wherein Christ is depicted among His Apostles, with the woman suppliant at His feet. The same author mentions other two examples in manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Christ is depicted sitting. In the Ashmolean Museum there is an ivory book-cover of German work of the tenth century, exhibiting Christ seated and the woman at His feet kneeling.[5] There is also a devotional tablet in the Victoria and Albert Museum displaying the woman washing the feet of Jesus.[6] It is a Carlovingian ivory of the ninth century. From parts of the original sculpture, Viollet-le-Duc, it is conjectured, restored a representation of this incident upon a lintel of a door on the west front of Vézelay Abbey Church, which dates back to the first quarter of the twelfth century.[7] The rarity of the example at Ruthwell is no argument against its antiquity. A casket in the Bibliotheca Quiriniana, Brescia (fifth or sixth century) shows the woman kneeling before a youthful Christ.[8]

9. *John the Baptist* (Pl. XXV. fig. 2).

An image on Ruthwell Cross clearly portrays the Baptist, wearing a nimbus, and carrying on his left breast the figure of a lamb. Its head only

[1] Christian Room, Case B, 580. The crucifix is 3 inches long. Twining, 160, pl. lxxix., gives two similar representations out of MSS. of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

[2] Maspero, *Guide . . . Mus. Caire*, 474, fig. 115.

[3] *Homily* (*Div. et Laz.*) in Max. *Biblio veterum patrum*, v. 807, cited by Bayet, 37.

[4] *Orationes*, 91–8, ed. Boissonade, cited by Bayet, 61; Fleury, *L'Evangile*, ii. 38, pl. lviii. fig. 2; fig. 5, Lat. MSS. 9384.

[5] Westwood Collection, F. 1, 366 (Coll. Micheli). [6] Carlovingian Ivories, Case B, 257.

[7] Cook, *Date*, 265 (53), citing Porée, *L'Abbaye de Vézelay*, 22.

[8] *Guide Ivories Dublin Museum*, 14.

FIG. 1. §K(C)NNBURUG or CYNIBURUG.
Photographs by Mr J. C. Montgomerie from the cast taken in 1913: *the top one taken with light from the left, the bottom one with light from the right.*

FIG. 2. Langbar Rocks.
Photograph by J. K. Hewison.

FIG. 3. Bewcastle Cross.
Photograph by Miss I. Montgomerie.

FIG. 4. Bewcastle Cross.
Photograph by Miss M. Montgomerie.

FIG. 5. Workmen at Bewcastle.
Photograph by Miss I. Montgomerie.

To face page 114.

is surrounded with a nimbus. A somewhat similar human figure is on Bewcastle Obelisk. A figure of St John, without a nimbus, carrying a slab engraved with the figure of an *Agnus Dei* bearing a cross, was dredged up in the Firth of Forth.[1] The figures are cut in limestone. The symbol in the first example cannot be misread. It is John the Baptist with head uncovered. The *Agnus Dei* is in a walking posture, as it was often displayed, and without cross, banner, crook, pail, chalice, or monogram. It was the commonest emblem of Christ till 692, when the representation of Christ's human form was ecclesiastically sanctioned.[2]

The earliest model of the combined subject of John and the Lamb exhibited the Precursor pointing his right-hand index finger at the Lamb.[3] Research does not disclose the age wherein the Lamb was lifted up to the breast of the saint. Professor Cook draws attention to the statue on Chartres Cathedral (before 1275), and to a contemporaneous example at Rheims; he does not quote this criticism of the Marriages regarding the former one: "The head of John is one of the weakest on this porch: the prophet has almost the look of an idiot."[4] St John is shown carrying the Lamb. It appears walking, and bearing a cross with banner, all in a nimbus. It is the modern type. In early specimens, recorded by Fleury, in the Syriac Bible, Maximian's throne, and Lateran, all of the sixth century, the Baptist has no nimbus; but in a contemporary one seen in the Baptistery, Ravenna, the nimbus is added.[5] The figure of the Baptist, illustrated from a seventh-century mosaic, where the subject is labelled *Sc̄s Iōh Bā*, is not that of the ascetic of the wilderness, but a robed person, with a nimbus, and simply holding a long cross in his left hand.[6] On the other hand, another representation found by Kraus on a cornelian shows the Baptist, in his hairy coat, with no nimbus, bearing a cross and banneret, and with the Lamb lying on his right hand—the Lamb also bearing a cross.[7] Until research gives more satisfactory results it would be rash to

[1] *Catal. Mus. Antiq. Edin.*, 289, 291.

[2] Kraus, *Geschichte der christ. Kunst*, many references. ii., i. 312: "Das Kreuz mit dem Bilde des Lammes in der Stelle des Crucifixus erscheint seit dem 6. Jahrhundert (Vaticanisches Kreuz des Kaiser Justin)." A specimen (top of cross) is preserved in the Cathedral Library, Durham: *A Catal.*, 79.

[3] Bulteau, *Monograph . . . Cathedral Chartres*, ii. 182 note: "Dans quelques peintures, est-il dit l'agneau est représenté montré du doigt par le Precurseur": *Guide Ivories, Dublin*, 33.

[4] *Date*, 258 (46), citing Marriage, *Sculptures*, etc.: "La tête de Jean est une de plus faibles de ce porche, le prophète a l'air presque idiot," 166.

[5] *L'Evangile*, i. 162, 163, pl. xxxii. figs. 1, 2, 3. Maximian's ivory throne is in Ravenna.

[6] Kraus, *Real-Encycl. christ. Alterthum*, ii. 63, 64, citing Paciaudi, 182.

[7] *Ibid.*, 64, fig. 42, citing Paciaudi, *Mem. Aer.*, 68.

dogmatise as to the period when such a type of the Forerunner carrying the Lamb did arise—it was very probably late. The full mantle he wears may represent the "raiment of camel's hair," but the fracture on the stone obliterates any trace of "a leathern girdle about his loins" (Matt. iii. 4). Strange to say, the figure of St John worked upon the maniple of St Cuthbert (tenth century) is that of an ordinary apostle holding in his left hand a book, in his right a branch. The letters IOHANNES $\bar{B}$ are sewed round his head.[1] The round objects on which the Baptist stands may represent the wheels of fire described by Ezekiel (ch. i.).

10. *St Cuthbert carrying the Head of St Oswald*

The alleged image of the Baptist on the Bewcastle Obelisk, like as it is in some particulars to that at Ruthwell, has differences in detail which demand inquiry (Pl. XXV. fig. 2). The massive head, without a nimbus, is covered with a low cap, or mitre. It is either the Syrian shepherd's cap, or more likely the earliest form of the mitre (Exodus xxviii. 4), as worn by Aaron, the priest. Twining, in her *Symbols and Emblems*, gives several illustrations of the Good Shepherd wearing the shepherd's cap. We find this form of head-covering upon a probable bust of the Emperor Phocas (602–610) in the British Museum.[2] Fleury shows St Zacharias wearing a low cap in an illustration of the Annunciation of the sixth century.[3] The archer in the Psalter of Æthelstan, already referred to, wears a low cap. The fact stated by Reginald, that a mitre was found covering the head of St Cuthbert, when his tomb was opened, proves no more than the existence in his time of the late rich vestments in which Æthelstan, in the tenth century (934), adorned St Cuthbert's body. The mitre, or flat, close cap, without a peak, of the Norman period, corresponds with a very old type illustrated by Gorio.[4] The earliest illustration of the Phrygian cap, or tiara, found in England is seen on a coin of Egbert, Archbishop of York (734–766).[5] This white linen helmet was conical at first, was latterly shaped as a round skull-cap, was afterwards depressed from back to front, then from side to side, whence it was developed conically. Joseph Braun, S.J., fully illustrates this subject, showing Frederick, Archbishop of Cologne (1100–1131), wearing a depressed cap, Heribert similarly covered, Archbishop Albero's (†1152)

[1] Cf. illust., *Burlington Mag.*, xxiii. (cxxi.) 6, 10.

[2] *A Guide . . . Christ. Antiq.*, 71, fig. 42, No. 485. [3] *L'Evangile*, i., pl. iii. fig. 2.

[4] Fairholt, *Costume in England*, Lond., 1885, i. 79, fig. 73; Anton. Fr. Gorio, *Crux e vitali ligno*, 172, 1, seg. iii. Cf. Gori, *Opusc varia*, Florence, 1748, iii., chapter "De Mitrate, etc."

[5] Rev. Percy Dearmer, *The Ornaments of the Ministers*, 108, 109.

flat mitre, and Gottfried of Nevers (†1159) wearing a similar type.[1] Braun also conclusively shows that up to the ninth and tenth centuries the mitre, or liturgical head-ornament, had no place whatever among the distinctive symbols and ornaments of the ministry.[2] It is an Eastern head-dress. He gives illustrations of Athanasius and Spiridion wearing this cap (*Hirtenmütze*), as given in the *Menologion* of Basil II. (975–1025). He also produces an example (after Strzygowski) on a Coptic tombstone. The mitre is awanting in the Testament of Bishop Riculf von Elne (†915), and in Church inventories of the tenth century.[3] About the middle of the tenth century the use of a ceremonial hat or mitre was coming into vogue. "The earliest reliable information about the mitre occurs in the pontificate of Leo IX. (1049–1054), when that Pope invested Bishop Eberhard with the mitre."[4] If, as at Bewcastle, we find the figure of a priest fully invested with episcopal robes and covered with a cap quite similar to early Anglo-Saxon and Norman mitres, yet without a nimbus, we can hardly identify that with an image of John the Baptist.

As has been pointed out,[5] the object carried by this ecclesiastical personage has two distinctions: it is now a lamb rearing upright like a unicorn—a unique pose for the *Agnus Dei*: and this sculptural definiteness was not apparent to eighteenth-century examiners, who stated that the Holy Child was carved there. Lysons, in a careful sketch, interpreted the subject as a lamb showing its ears and fore-legs. But in a sketch of the window in Edenhall Church, also in Cumberland, which exhibited St Cuthbert, nimbused, mitred (with conical mitre), with right hand upheld to bless, and a crozier resting on his left breast, the artist shows a sleeve out of which emerges a hand whose fingers grasp a plaque.[6] The plaque bears a head, crowned, looking to the right. It is that of St Oswald adorned with a nimbus. The two conceptions are not dissimilar. The left hand in the Melrose example does not project so far, and the head of Oswald looks to the right (Pl. V. fig. 3). The models varied. According to the *Rites of Durham*, several windows

[1] *Die liturgische Gewandung*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1907, 450, 459, 460, 463.

[2] *Ibid.*, 434, "Auch in dem Sacramentaren und Pontifikalien des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts wird einer Mitra und überhaupt einer liturgischen Hauptbedeckung nirgends gedacht"; 437, "Wir wiederholen, man wird auf den Bildwerken, die dem ersten Jahrtausend entstammen, vergebens nach einer Mitra oder überhaupt einen liturgischen pontificalen Kopfschmuck fahnden"; 441, 490, 619.

[3] *Ibid.*, 439. [4] *Ibid.*, 447. [5] p. 43.

[6] Lysons' Sketches in the British Museum, fol. 113*b* for lamb, 152 for window. This window was extant till 1808. Lysons, *Cumberland*, 192; Hutchinson, i. 225; Eyre, *St Cuthbert*, 238.

in the Abbey Church of Durham pictured St Cuthbert with the head of St Oswald in his left hand, or painted on his breast.[1] York had a similar window.[2] The arms of the burgh of Kirkcudbright, another site where his peregrinating body may have rested, display "a lymphad with the sail furled; in the stern St Cuthbert seated, holding on his knees the head of the martyr St Oswald." Both heads have a nimbus. Bewcastle Church was dedicated to St Cuthbert, and a symbol of him would not be out of place there,[3] any more than it was in the old Church of Edenhall, part of which is pre-Norman, and also dedicated to St Cuthbert.[4]

If, as the writer suggests, there is a slight trace of a stole upon the figure at Bewcastle, there is an early precedent for this ornament on the (sixth-century) mosaic in St Vitale, Ravenna, delineating Bishop Ecclesius; and it is also seen on the altar of Duke Ratchis (744–799), over the vestments of Christ sitting as Priest of priests, in St Martin's, Cividale.[5] In use in the eighth century, it became common in the ninth century among clerics in Rome. According to the mediæval biographer of Ætheldreda (Audrey), the virgin queen of Ecgfrith, and abbess of Ely, that saint with her own hand made both a maniple and a bejewelled stole for St Cuthbert.[6]

11. *The Nativity*

Pre-Christian pagans considered caves to be beloved of and sacred to the gods—Zeus, Mithras, Hermes, Dionysus, Typhon being born therein. The sun was worshipped in a cave in Assyria. The first Christians, so well acquainted with this worship of "cave-gods," had similar delight in honouring Christ, alleged to have been born in a cave-stable, and in pictorially representing the Nativity therein. This subject, first delineated in the Catacombs, was popular throughout the whole Christian era. Withrow gives a delineation of the scene from the Catacomb of Callistus. In a cot lies the Holy Child, Joseph and Mary beside the babe, an ox and an ass looking at Him, and the

[1] Eyre, *St Cuthbert*, 284, 285. For the burial of King Oswald's head in St Cuthbert's coffin and shrine, cf. Eyre; Raine, also *Hist. Transl. S. Cuthberti in Symeonis Opera* (Surtees Soc.), i. 191, 193.

[2] *Ibid.*, 287.

[3] The author has frequently examined *at closest quarters* the nimbused lamb's head. The body is carried down beyond the circle of the nimbus. There is no trace now of the Baptist's left hand or arm: the right hand too has disappeared.

[4] J. C. Cox, *County Churches* (Cumberland), 80. In some lights what seemed to be one end of a stole is apparent. It is not definite enough to create certainty.

[5] Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, 566, 567, figs. 273, 274.

[6] Braun, 573, citing *Acta S. Etheldreda Reg.*, i. 1, n. 31 (*A. SS.*, 23 Jun. V. 430).

Reconstruction of Ruthwell Cross.
Designed by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 118.

HEAD OF RUTHWELL CROSS.
Designed by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 118.

three Magi approaching, under a star, to bring Him gifts.[1] A Nativity scene upon Ruthwell Cross is now a matter of certainty, a photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie revealing the faint outlines of animals. Three examples of the Nativity subject, of Norman sculpture—at Fincham (font), Norfolk, and two other stones at Wirksworth and Bolsover, Derbyshire—are mentioned by Allen.[2] A Norman conception of the Magi story is carved upon the font at Sculthorpe, Norfolk.[3] A capital on the west front of Chartres Cathedral has a Nativity scene.[4]

12. *The Annunciation*

Ciampini, Bottari, Seroux d'Agincourt, and Rohault de Fleury give several illustrations of the Annunciation from manuscripts, sculpture, mosaics, frescoes, etc., dating from the fifth to the eleventh century.[5] Professor Cook considers "as important in its bearing on the date of the Ruthwell Annunciation" the assertion of Bulteau (iii. 163) "that Mary is always seated in the Annunciation till the end of the twelfth century, while from 1150 to 1350 Mary and the angel are both standing."[6] But Rohault de Fleury produces five plates, with representations antecedent to the twelfth century, wherein the two appear standing.[7]

Mr J. R. Allen did not find or specify any examples of the Annunciation and the Visitation among sculptures of the Norman period in England.[8] The very numerous specimens of exquisite art depicting this incident to be found on, and in the Continental churches, since the Middle Ages, no doubt copied from some menologion or stereotyped models, do not help much in determining the age of Ruthwell Cross.[9]

[1] *The Catacombs of Rome*, 305, fig. 86; Twining, 170, pl. lxxxiv. figs. 5, 7. A beautiful Nativity picture is preserved (from sixth century) in the monastery of Daphne, Athens: Gab. Millet, *Le Monastère de D.*, Paris, 1899, 14, fig. 12. Cf. ivory panel in Brit. Mus., Greek and R. Life, Case 36, No. 42, age ninth century; sixth-century ivory No. 300, table case B, *Byz. Antiq. Guide*, 67. Cf. Bottari, *Sculture . . . cimeterii di Roma*, 1737, pls. lxxxv., lxxxvi.

[2] *Notes on Early Christ. Symbolism*, 447.

[3] *Ibid.*, 420, 447.

[4] Marriage, 52, fig. 21.

[5] Ciampini, *Vetera Monumenta*, i. (ii.) 200; Bottari, *Sculture . . . Cimeterii di Roma*, pl. clxxvi.; Agincourt, *Peinture*, pl. xxvii. 2; *L'Evangile*, i. pl. iii. fig. 1, Syrian Bible (sixth century), both figures standing; fig. 2, St Zacharie, do.; fig. 3, SS. Nerée et Achillée (eighth century), do.; pl. iv. fig. 2, Bible of Armenians (eighth century), do.; pl. v. fig. 1, Sainte Marie in Trastevere (ninth century); pl. v. fig. 2, Porte de S. Paul (eleventh century), do.: Pl. VI. figs. 1 and 2, Brit. Mus. (tenth century). Cf. ivory, Brit. Mus., Case 36, No. 42 Carlo., ninth century.

[6] *The Date*, etc., 262 (50), note 2.

[7] *L'Evangile*, i., pls. iii., iv., vi., viii.

[8] *Notes . . . Symbolism, ut supra.*

[9] Professor Cook in *The Date* has fully treated these examples, 259–262 (47–50).

13. *The Visitation*

The visit of Mary to her cousin Elizabeth formed a subject for pictorial representation in the cycle of Gospel events selected for this purpose in early Christian times. Both the Annunciation and the Visitation, or Salutation (St Luke i. 39–41), are often depicted in proximity, but neither is so commonly displayed as other incidents of the cycle. Gabriel Millet shows a beautiful Salutation preserved in the monastery of Daphne.[1] Fleury has five illustrations of the meeting of Mary and Elizabeth, dating from the ninth to the twelfth century, wherein the holy women appear with nimbus, and in some cases embracing each other.[2] In the Victoria and Albert Museum an ivory plaque of the eleventh century depicts the women with their arms around each other.[3] On the Hutton Cranswick font are carved, in three round-headed panels, two figures embracing, an archer, and an *Agnus Dei*.

Professor Cook fully illustrates this subject as far as twelfth-century specimens in sculpture in Vézelay, Chartres, St Benoît-sur-Loire (which he visited) are concerned, and finding such similarities he concludes: "The analogies between the treatment of these twelfth-century groups and that of the corresponding subject in the Ruthwell Cross are too evident to be insisted on."[4] He also refers to Venturi's reproductions of ten Italian examples of twelfth and thirteenth century date.[5] The above reasoning with reference to a twelfth-century origin of the carving at Ruthwell might be convincing if we left out of account the earlier models already enumerated.[6]

14. *The Shoes*

The shoes upon the feet of Mary and Elizabeth appear more like the wooden shoon (*Scotticé* "clogs"; French "sabots") still worn by the Dumfriesshire peasantry, than ecclesiastically sanctioned foot-coverings. The ancients wore both sandals and leather shoes. The form taken by the sandal straps made the sandals in drawings appear like the shoes. In the British Museum the ancient Egyptian sandals, made of interwoven papyrus

[1] *Le Monastère de Daphni*, Paris, 1899, 14, pl. xii.

[2] *L'Evangile*, i., pl. ix. 23: fig. 2, ivory evangeliary, Metz (ninth century), has no nimbus, and no embrace; fig. 3, evangeliary of St Medard (ninth century) has the nimbus and embrace.

[3] Allen, *Notes on E. Christ. Symbolism*, 401.

[4] *The Date*, 262 (50). He refers also to Amiens, Rheims, and Moissac.

[5] *Ibid.*; Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Ital.*, iii.

[6] Professor Baldwin Brown draws attention to the Visitation occurring on golden medallions, of sixth or seventh century, from Adana, Constantinople, as referred to by Strzygowski (App. Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar): *Burlington Mag.*, xxiii. (cxxi.) 44.

or reeds, have an appearance like the shoon on the Cross.[1] In the room where relics of Greek and Roman life are exhibited, one sees a Greek vase of the third century before Christ moulded like a boot, high sandals, cork and bronze-soled sandals, where a wooden core is covered with iron nails.[2] These sandals, when fastened, would appear on sculpture as the shoon alluded to. Figures preserved in the monastery of Daphne are wearing Greek sandals.[3] The Christ in St Aquilino, Milan, has sandals on.[4] At first the shoes had not the liturgical meaning, afterwards associated with them, as to "the preparation of the gospel of peace" (Eph. vi. 15).

The shoe delineated on works of art up to the tenth century was a simple sole, with heel and toe coverings bound with straps, with little ornamentation upon the toe-cap—a type, however, of the later, more elaborate, cross-adorned "pontifical shoe."[5] MacDurnan, in his Gospels, adorns the Apostles with shoes. St Dunstan, in the picture on the Bodleian MS. (referred to at the end of Chapter VII.) wears similar shoes. Shoes of the form exhibited in the Annunciation scene on Ruthwell Cross much resemble the ancient Irish shoes found in Craigywarren crannog (ninth century) and in Carrigallen bog (eleventh century), and now in the National Museum, Dublin.[6] A picture of Bishop Aldhelm seated in his episcopal chair shows his feet covered with similar shoes. The drawing appears in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* (ninth century), in Lambeth Palace.

15. *The Flight into Egypt*

This pictorial representation is equally suitable for the story of Mary's flight into Egypt and her return home,. The delineation at Ruthwell is one of the earliest in existence. A representation of the event is found in

[1] Third Egyptian Room, Case A, 4451 and 4465.

[2] *Ibid.*, Case F, G. 158, 276, 277; Bosio, *Antiq. Roma Sott.*, 1650, 654–7, *Delli Sandali degli Apostoli.* A picture from the cemetery of Priscilla shows the Christians wearing buskins, fol. 500.

[3] Millet, 67.

[4] A. de Waal, *Das Kleid des Herrn*, Freiburg-im-B., 1891, 8, fig. 5. "Die gewöhnliche Fussbekleidung bestand entweder in Schuhen welche den ganzen Fuss bedeckten (*calcei, perones*) oder in Sandalen (*soleæ, baxeæ, crepidæ*) einem der Fusssohle angepasten, Lederstück das durch Schnüre über den Fuss, hin um die Fersen das Schienbein hinauf festgebunden wurde," *ibid.*, 6.

[5] Braun, *Die liturg. Gewandung*, 384–424, with illustrations.

[6] Coffey, *Guide Celt. Antiq.*, 73, 74, figs. 78, 79. Ecclesiastics depicted in *The Golden Psalter* and Folchart's Psalter, St Gall, wear shoes. Reginald of Durham describes shoes found on the feet of St Cuthbert thus: "In pedibus calceamenta pontificalia gerit, quæ vulgus Sandalia vocare consuevit." Braun thinks that Reginald thus described the shoes in use in the twelfth century. They might have been Æthelstan's gift.

the tenth-century *Menologion* of Basil II.,[1] and on the door of St Paul's Church, outside Rome (eleventh century).[2] It appears on early ivories in the eleventh century.[3] In bronze, it is seen on the door of Pisa Cathedral, and on the door of St Zenone at Verona.[4] Professor Cook has enumerated many twelfth-century examples in France and Italy, particularly drawing attention to one on a storied capital of Chartres Cathedral "which considerably resembles that at Ruthwell."[5] Allen discovered two examples on fonts of the Norman period, at Walton-on-the-Hill (Lancs.) and West Haddon (Northampton), and another specimen at Clonard Abbey, Ireland.[6]

So simple is the detail of the work executed by the carver in Northumbria that there was need for no later model than what the tenth-century manual of art provided.

It has been conjectured by some that the object thought to represent the head of Joseph might depict the tree under which, according to tradition, Mary rested when in Egypt. "The Virgin's Tree," or its successor, a very old sycamore, has long been an object of veneration at Matarieh, the ancient Heliopolis, and still flourishes beside the majestic red granite obelisk of the Sun-god, Horus.[7] That the object is a head is very probable, being in keeping with the inscription—"Ioseph." Joseph's dream and flight are depicted on Maximian's throne.

A date-palm tree overshadows the Virgin seated on an ass on a panel of the bronze door of Pisa Cathedral. A similar delineation is seen in the choir enclosure in Notre Dame at Paris.

16. *The Healing of the Blind Man*

Of Biblical subjects in much favour with early Christian artists, one was Christ's miracle of healing the blind man. Kraus draws attention to the existence of representations from the second century onwards.[8] Bottari illustrates the representations found on sarcophagi.[9] The healing of two

[1] Agincourt, *Hist. of Art*, iii., pl. xxxi. fig. 18. [2] *Ibid.*, ii., pl. xii. fig. 20.

[3] Kraus, *Geschichte christ. Kunst*, i. 171, fig. 131. Vict. and Alb. Mus., Case A, 379, 1871, Byzantine book-cover.

[4] Tyrwhitt, *Art Teaching*, 329; Lethaby, *Mediæval Art*, 104, pl. xx.

[5] *The Date*, 264 (52). Marriage, *The Sculptures*, gives a photo, 48, pl. 19. He refers to Ruskin on that of Amiens: *Works*, 33, 168, plate.

[6] *Notes*, 447; Cook, *The Date*, 263 (51).

[7] *Picturesque Palestine*, iv. 128, 129, illustrations.

[8] *Geschichte christ. Kunst*, i. 136.

[9] *Sculpture . . . Roma Sott.*, pls. xxix., xxxii., xxxix., xlix., lxviii.

Fig. 1. Ruthwell Cross: Crucifixion Scene.

A B

Fig. 2. The Baptist: A, Bewcastle; B, Ruthwell.

Photographs by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

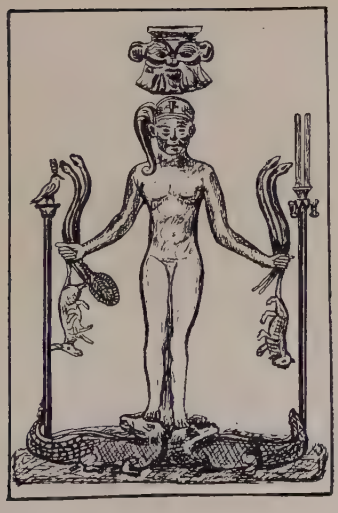


Fig. 3. Horus upon the Crocodiles.

Sketch by J. K. Hewison from Photograph.

Fig. 4. Upper part of Shaft of Ruthwell Cross in 1913.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 122.

blind men is depicted on Maximian's throne,[1] and on Carolingian ivories of the tenth century.[2] Fleury reproduces three illustrations from a sarcophagus in the Lateran, an ivory of Ravenna, and a mosaic in St Apollinare (sixth century), on all of which Christ touches the blind man's eye.[3]

17. *The Symbol of St Matthew*

It is conjectured that the two figures (shown in bust only) on the north face of Ruthwell Cross, immediately above the Baptist, might represent St Matthew with his attendant angel—the symbol of that Apostle. Traces of wings appear on the one figure ; the other seems to hold a tablet or book. A very interesting conjunction of the two figures is seen in St Cuthbert's Gospel executed in Lindisfarne Monastery: a winged angel, with nimbus, in the act of blowing a trumpet, and holding a book (the Gospel), appears over the nimbused head of St Matthew, who has long locks and beard, as he sits writing his Gospel-book.[4] There are innumerable varieties of this angel symbol, from the fifth century onwards.

18. *St Paul and St Anthony*

How the story of St Paul, the eremite, and St Anthony, the founder of monachism in Egypt, could find so prominent a place in the pictorial Gospel carved at Ruthwell can only be accounted for by the assumption that a devotee of a monastic order was the designer of the monument. In Ireland more than in Britain were the solitude of the "desert" cultivated and the fame of Anthony also commemorated.[5] Professor Cook describes sculpture on the Abbey of Vézelay depicting scenes in the lives of these two saints, carved in the twelfth century (1135), and says: "The scene depicted on the pillar of the narthex represents the same act as that depicted on the Ruthwell Cross. . . . The influence of Vézelay may have been transmitted through one or other channel to Ruthwell: it is inconceivable that the Ruthwell Cross should have influenced Vézelay; and the representations on the Irish and Scottish stones are much ruder."[6] But long before the twelfth century had

[1] Ashmolean Museum, Westwood Collection, F. 1, 54; Fleury, *L'Evangile*, ii., fig. clv. (blind and lame men); Ricci, *Ravenna*, 77, fig. 66.

[2] Vict. and Alb. Mus., Case B, 256; Brit. Mus. (Roman Life), Case 36, No. 46.

[3] *L'Evangile*, ii. 42, pl. lix. figs. 1, 2, 3.

[4] Twining, 96, pl. xlvii.

[5] Representations of Anthony are found on two crosses in Kells, one at Monasterboice, one at Moone Abbey, one at Castle Dermot, and one at Ardboe. St Anthony was born about 250, and died one hundred and five years later.

[6] *The Date*, 271 (59).

British, and especially Irish, Christians known and practised the anchoretic rules, and copied the rites of the East, the anchorites in Ireland imitating the famous sheepskin of St Anthony in their woolly cloak. John Cassian organised and systematised Syrian monasticism in Gaul, whence it spread everywhere in the fifth century.[1] Between the monastery in Lerins and Egypt and Syria a constant communication was kept up.[2] Tradition takes St Patrick to Lerins and thence to Ireland to preach, and St Patrick the younger was buried in Glastonbury.[3] Early Irish monasticism had peculiarities traceable to Syrian ideas and customs.[4] Bede mentions the "narrow dwelling" of St Cuthbert, the anchorite, in Lindisfarne, where he "served God in solitude many years," and also the priest Herebert "leading a solitary life in the island," in Derwentwater.[5] Anthony, then, was a model for St Cuthbert and St Dunstan. In a mediæval panegyric on St Dunstan, this saint—the patron of English monasticism—is likened to St Anthony,[6] who dwelt in a tomb, which St Dunstan imitated by making for himself a tiny cell at Glastonbury.[7] Abbot Ceolfrid of Jarrow, in his letter to Naitan, king of the Picts, in 710, mentions the fact "that even in our churches throughout Britain there are many who, having learned the ancient rules of the Egyptians, can with great ease carry on the Paschal cycles for any length of time."[8]

19. *The Sun-dial*

The sun-dial on Bewcastle Obelisk forms part of the original design. It resembles the lower half of the sun wheel symbol so commonly inscribed on Roman altars, and also a sun-dial discovered at Borcovicus on Hadrian's Wall.[9] Professor Cook quotes Mrs Gatty to the effect that few sun-dials in England antedate 1066, and he concludes that "there is absolutely no reason for dating the Bewcastle sun-dial earlier than the late eleventh century, and that the twelfth century is more probable."[10] Mrs Alfred Gatty, however,

[1] Cooper-Marsdin, *The History of the . . . Lerins*, Camb., 1913, 94, 100.

[2] *Ibid.*, 95.

[3] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 1907, 170; Cooper-Marsdin, 88, cites Abbé Alliez to the effect that St Patrick received the tonsure in Marmoutier. Pilgrims came to Glastonbury to dwell near the body of St Patrick, and Dunstan read their books: *Vita S. D.*, 10, 11.

[4] Stokes, 174.

[5] Bede, *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 28, 29.

[6] Stubbs, *Vita S. Dunstani*, 455.

[7] *Ibid.* (Osbern's *Life*), 83.

[8] Bede, v. 21; Sellar's transl., 369.

[9] Now preserved in Chesters Museum. *An Account . . . Chesters Mus.*, 198 (illust.), No. 131. "One side of the fragment is jagged, as if the semicircle had been broken across the middle: if complete, it would have been divided into eleven spaces."

[10] *The Date*, 302 (90).

describes and illustrates this horologe thus: "The dial . . . is divided by five principal lines into four spaces according to the octaval system of the Angles. Two of these lines, viz. those for 9 a.m. (*tierce*) and mid-day (*sext*), are crossed at the point. The four spaces are subdivided so as to give the twelve day hours of the Roman and ecclesiastical use." She also says: "It will be noticed that the dial on the Bewcastle Cross is drawn in the same semicircular form as those of Borcovicus, Orchomenes, and Herculaneum, and possibly the connection may be traced through the lessons of astronomy given to the Angles by the Archbishop"—Theodore, himself a Greek.[1] Bede wrote upon chronology, and also mentions that, the two orientals, Archbishop Theodore and Hadrian, taught "the metrical art, astronomy and ecclesiastical arithmetic."[2]

Cooper reproduces a drawing of the eighth century exhibiting an "Orologium uiatorum" which has twelve divisions, and he includes it among "Irische Zeichnungen"—Irish drawings in St Gall.[3] These very words, "ORLOGIV . . . . TORV.," are inscribed upon a dial at Great Edston, Yorkshire.[4] It is almost certain that some of the dials built into very early English churches of Norman style of architecture are relics of the Anglo-Saxon period.[5] The editor of Calverley's *Notes on the Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle* says of the Bewcastle specimen: "If the Cross dates from the seventh century, so does the dial; and this is not so extraordinary as it might seem, for sun-dials of Anglo-Saxon age are not wanting in other places."[6] Bishop Browne gives a drawing of the sun-dial at Kirkdale Church, near Kirby Moorside.[7] It has nine incised lines. Over the gnomon runs an Anglo-Saxon inscription which, translated, reads: "This is the sun's mark at every time, and Hawarth wrought me and Brand the priest (?)." Another inscription in Anglo-Saxon reads: "Orm, son of Gamal, bought St Gregory's Minster. Then it was all broken and fallen to. And he made build it new from the ground for Christ and St Gregory

[1] *The Book of Sundials*, Lond., 1900, 50, 51. *Prime* is 6 a.m.; *Nones*, 3 p.m.; *Vespers*, 6 p.m.

[2] *De Sex Ætatibus Mundi*: *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 2.

[3] *Report on Fœdera*, 1869, App. A, p. 116, plate: "E codice Augiensi," No. cxcii. fol. 237.

[4] Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britannicæ Christianæ*, 66, No. 181, illust. Hübner also illustrates the two inscribed dials at Old Byland and Kirkdale: *ibid.*, 65; *York. Archæol. Journ.*, xix. 325, 347, 376.

[5] Cf. dials at Great Salkeld, Dearham, Kirkoswald in Cumberland.

[6] W. G. Collingwood, *Notes*, etc., 54. Cf. sketches of early dials at Bolton, Newbiggin, Caldbeck, Milburn (2), Cliburn, Isel (3), Torpenhaw, *Notes*, etc., 56. Cook, *The Date*, 302, gives references to other dials of the eleventh and later centuries.

[7] *Conversion of Heptarchy*, 194, 195, pl. 5.

in the days of Edward king, in the days of Tostig earl." This specimen appears to have been carved in the reign of Eadward the Confessor, and in the time of Earl Tostig of Northumbria (1051–1066). Professor Baldwin Brown refers to a dial on the southern wall of the early Saxon church at Escomb, Durham.[1]

[1] *Burl. Mag.*, xxiii. (cxxi.) 45. A rectangular stone carved and incised so as to form a sun-dial was in the autumn of 1913 found built into the wall near the belfry of the parish church of Hoddam. Faint traces of an inscription remain.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY ART IN NORTHUMBRIA

"NORTHUMBRIA, at this time (the seventh century), in many respects led the civilisation of Europe. Nowhere else was there such as scholar as Bede, nowhere a native poet like Cædmon, nowhere else was gathered such a group of great men; nowhere else was there a school of art like that which produced the Lindisfarne Book, the Crosses of Bewcastle and Ruthwell, and the beautiful English coins of this period." [1] This pronouncement of Professor W. R. Lethaby is a *petitio principii*. Canon Greenwell traversed the similar conclusions of former writers when he virtually concluded that a "school other than that of Hexham (about 740) appears to have produced the artists who conceived and executed them (the crosses)," from "beyond the limits of England . . . a country where art had for long flourished and where it had not altogether died away," there being no reason why "two artists, or two companies of artists, should not have been brought from Italy towards the close of the seventh century to work contemporaneously in Anglican territory." [2] It is well, before commenting upon obscure subjects, to remember the counsel of Schiller, "Measure not by a scale of perfection the meagre product of reality."

All that are left of objects—stone, wood, parchment, metal, or ivory—to tell the story of artistic taste and work in the Northumbrian kingdom, or in the wider Anglian kingdom up to the tenth century, are indeed "meagre products." The Crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle are marvellous and unique exceptions. From a few Anglo-Saxon buildings, a few still perfect crosses and grave-slabs, numerous fragments of sculptured stones used as rubble by Norman iconoclastic church-builders, from scarce specimens of the art of jewellers and mint-masters — such as Ælfred's jewel and Ecgfrith's coins,—and from designs in such a masterpiece as the Lindisfarne Gospels (*circa* 700) and in later Anglo-Celtic manuscripts, can we infer the degree

[1] *The Architect. Review*, Aug. 1912, xxii., No. 189, p. 59.
[2] Haverfield and Greenwell, *A Catal. of Sculpt. Stones*, 46, 47.

of excellency attained to by the early artists in all kinds in early England and the Border-land.

Authorities are all agreed upon certain generalisations regarding Greek and Roman art after the advent of Christ. According to Reinach, "After the middle of the second century Roman sculpture degenerated in Italy," and "plastic art fell more and more under the influences of the school that had developed in Asia Minor and Syria . . . a sort of orientalised Hellenic art . . . to some extent the source of Byzantine art." [1] Similarly, Russell Sturgis, in discussing the sculptures on the arch of Constantine (315 A.D.), which he considers "base and trivial," avers that "Greco-Roman art was dead when they were wrought; and for six hundred years thereafter sculpture was destined to sleep in all the Western lands. . . . Now the revival of sculpture in the tenth century is one of the most curious things in history." [2] Artistic sculpture left on the Roman Wall could inspire no enthusiasm.[3] A genius might still in the seventh century be inspired in Rome, but no proof of such a fact exists. According to Professor G. Carotti, a period of stagnation in art followed after the death of Justinian (565), which in turn was succeeded by "a genuine renascence from the end of the ninth to the eleventh century." [4] The marvellous revival of art in the Byzantine Empire in the sixth century, inaugurated through the introduction by Justinian of the great neo-Oriental architects, Anthemius and Isidore, who built that "miracle of architecture," St Sophia in Byzantium, had its counterpart when Leo III., the Isaurian (717–741), paralysed all Christian art by forbidding the making of any likeness of saint, martyr, or angel.[5] Statuary was discountenanced then. What Mr Bradley says of illumination is also true of sculpture: "During this period vast numbers of illuminated liturgical books were destroyed for religious or fanatical reasons. . . . This edict of 726 . . . had the effect of excluding images of God, Christ, and the saints . . . leaving the artist the free use of flowers, plants, and line ornament." [6] The exiled Byzantine artists travelled westward to find patronage and employment with Charlemagne (742–814), at whose court Alcuin, the Northumbrian, was the chief ornament.[7] Specimens of Carolingian art, when compared with the fine

[1] S. Reinach, *The Story of Art*, Lond., 1904, 80.
[2] *The Appreciation of Sculpture*, New York, 1904, 73.
[3] Nothing arresting, at least, is seen in the Museum at Chesters.
[4] *A History of Art*, Lond., 1909, ii. (i.) 68.
[5] Adeney, *The Greek and Eastern Churches*, Edin., 1908, 196.
[6] John W. Bradley, *Illum. Manuscripts*, Lond., 1905, 31.
[7] Browne, *Alcuin of York*, 153.

Bewcastle Cross, from North-West.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 128.

work on the Crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle, are recognised as of late date if they exhibit signs of vigorous treatment, life, and naturalism—qualities seen on the two roods.[1] But it must not be forgotten, as Rivoira states, "The highly complicated interlacing of the Lindisfarne Gospels . . . was done at a time when the Comacini and Lombard guilds had long been accustomed to produce patterns of the most varied and intricate character in carving."[2] Their attempts to carve human and animal figures are failures, as, stated before, Sir T. G. Jackson points out when discussing Lombard influence, and the eighth-century baptistery of Callixtus at Cividale, of which he writes: "The ornament is excellent, even beautiful, but the attempts at figures of men and animals are beneath criticism; . . . if the sculptured ornament of the eighth century be compared with that of the fourth, as shown for instance in the early Christian sarcophagi, one realises the abject condition into which the arts had sunk in Italy during the interval."[3]

There was another source of influence and inspiration felt in Northumbria very early—the very fountain-head of Christianity itself. Syria was the school for both scholars and artists in the fifth and sixth centuries, and out of it into Egypt came the inspiration of the Orient, which, on the pressure of the Moslems, travelled westward with the stream of exiles and propagators of Christianity, science, and art. If Prior and Gardner be right in contending that "Wilfrid's evangelisation of the north of England provided the mason-craft of the Bewcastle and Ruthwell sculpture"—a view which we do not think is borne out by the facts of the case,—Wilfrid also came under direct Oriental as well as Italian influences when he resided in Rome.[4] The wonderful manuscript Gospels of Lindisfarne, said to have been written by Eadfrith, the bishop (698–721), indicates by its artistic designs that there existed one or more of a class of practical geniuses who could at least imitate or improve upon certain Italo-Byzantine models before Wilfrid's inspiration could create the public taste that would appreciate such productions of the sculptor's art. Bishop Eadfrith showed his genius by encasing the church of Lindis-

[1] The figure of St Ambrose on the baldachin over the ciborium in the Basilica of St Ambrogio, Milan, might serve as a Byzantine model for the Christ of Ruthwell: Carotti, ii. (i.) 180, illust.

[2] *Lombardic Architecture*, Lond., 1910, ii. 145.

[3] *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture*, Camb., 1913, i. 215, 216.

[4] *An Account of Medieval Figure-Sculpture in England*, Camb., 1912, book ii., chap. i. § 1 ("The Anglian Crosses, 650–800"), 120; "For Christianity came as a new civilisation, and brought the capacity to carve these great blocks of stone, not only with painters' and goldsmiths' patterns, but with figure pictures of classic dignity and motives of oriental elegance": *ibid.*

farne—St Peter's—built of oak, with "plates of lead."[1] Theodore, who consecrated that church, was the Archbishop of Canterbury. He was a native of Tarsus in Cilicia, was educated in Athens, and on account of his learning was sent by Pope Vitalian to evangelise Britain. He was accompanied by another learned Oriental, Abbot Hadrian, a native of Africa, and a regular from a monastery in Campagna. The influence of these potent foreigners and of their contemporary, Pope Sergius (687–701), also a Syrian, must not be underestimated. Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow, visited Rome in 701, in the same year in which Pope Sergius found in St Peter's a piece of the True Cross and created a new festival in memory of the event; and Bede chronicled the discovery on Ceolfrid's return to Jarrow.[2] And it may be admitted that sculptors from the Orient and southern centres of art culture could be procured from Alexandria, Ravenna, Marseilles, and other places in the seventh and eighth centuries.

Professor Cook writes inquiringly: "We should be interested to consider whether any Egyptian obelisk could have been known to North Europeans of the Middle Ages"; and, after referring to "the only obelisk at Rome which has not at some time or other been levelled with the ground," he gives his opinion that "every such pilgrim from the north would of course have been impressed by an object so strange and by figures so enigmatic."[3] Many British and Hibernian ecclesiastics, for centuries before that date which Professor Cook assigns to these crosses, were pilgrims to the Holy Land, travelled also in Egypt, and were in turn visited by Oriental priests, students, and travellers. Oriental ideas and ideals, facts and fancies, art and science were commonplaces in Anglo-Saxon England. The fact of the influence of the Church of the East, especially the branch in Egypt, is now established.[4] Egypt gave to the Celtic Church its type and tone. The round tower, monastic school, eremitic life, beehive house, and other features of the Irish Church had prototypes in the East. A visit to Egypt in 1909 impressed the writer with these characteristics, and with the similarity of sculptural design in use in the early Orient and Occident. *The Book of Adam and Eve*, composed in Egypt in the fifth or sixth century, was known in early Ireland.[5] In the

[1] Bede, iii., xxv.; transl., 192.

[2] Brandl, *Scot. Hist. Rev.*, ix. 34, 145, 146, citing authorities.

[3] *The Date*, 334 (122), n. 1.

[4] Sayce, "The Indebtedness of the Keltic Church to Egypt," *Trans. Scot. Eccl. Soc.*, pt. iii. (1911–12) 250–260.

[5] Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, 188, 216.

succeeding centuries Palestine and Egypt were often visited by English and Irish pilgrims.

St Wilfrid, in the Conference at Whitby, argued : " We have seen the same rule (of Easter) observed in Italy and in Gaul where we have studied ; we know that it is so in Africa, in Asia, in Egypt, in Greece, etc." [1] Ceolfrid (710) frequently quoted Egyptian lore, and wrote : " In our churches throughout Britain there are many who, having learned the ancient rules of the Egyptians, can with great ease carry on the Paschal Cycles." [2] Abbot Adamnan of Iona reported and recorded Bishop Arculf's (*c.* 700) account of his travels in the East. Arculf stayed in Jerusalem, travelled in Egypt, and probably visited the Coptic monasteries in the desert.[3] Willibald, a native of Wessex, recited his travels (721–727) in the Holy Land to a nun of Heidenheim.[4] Dicuil (825), the geographer, an Irish monk, when in school in France, heard Fidelis, another Irish monk, give an account of the travels of himself and other Irish pilgrims in Egypt.[5] Bernard the Wise in 867 visited Alexandria and saw the grave of St Mark " with a monument of squared marble over it" [6] The Venerable Bede and Virgil (Fergil) the geometer (750–784) were versed in Alexandrian science ; Sedulius knew Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Joannes Scotus Erigena was a famous Greek scholar in Ælfred's reign.[7] Oengus, the Culdee of Tallaght in Ireland (800), was acquainted with one Egyptian book at least, and his Litany, although of later date, refers to one Armenian bishop and to seven Egyptian monks who were buried in Ireland.[8] The schools of Ireland were renowned. In the college of Slane, Dagobert II., king of France, was educated. Northumbria and Ireland were in constant touch with each other. King Ealdfrith, as stated, was " the arch-doctor of Erin's learning." If Hibernian or Anglo-Hibernian monks could have made these two crosses at all, they could have done the work in the epoch wherein the Lindisfarne Gospels appeared as well as in any other.

This whole subject is illuminated by an authoritative pronouncement by Professor Sayce to this effect : " Egyptian influence naturally extended beyond the ideal of Christian life and the organisation of the Church. Keltic

[1] Montalembert, *The Monks of the West*, 1867, iv. 165 ; paraphrase of Bede, iii. 25, 196.
[2] Bede, v., xxi. 369.
[3] Wright, *Early Travels in Palestine* (Bohn transl.), 1–12.
[4] *Ibid.*, 13–22.
[5] Stokes, *Ireland*, 216.
[6] Wright, *Early Travels*, 10, 11, 24.
[7] Bede, *Opera* (Giles' ed.), vi., xvi. ; Stokes, *Ireland*, 216, 224. Bede knew the *Liber Physiologus* or *The Divine Bestiary* used by Pope Gregory the Great (590–604).
[8] Stokes, *Ireland*, 249, 366.

Christianity in its main outlines became Egyptian and Oriental rather than Western. Some time ago Sir Gaston Maspero was taking me over the new Coptic room he had been arranging in the Cairo Museum, and showing me the remains of sixth-century Coptic ecclesiastical architecture that had been recently discovered at Bawît in Upper Egypt. I was remarking that they revealed to us the origin of the so-called Byzantine art. 'Yes,' he replied, 'but they reveal something more, and that is the origin of Christian Keltic art.' It was from Egypt that, as we now see, the interlaced patterns and frets of Christian Keltic art were derived, along with the foliaginous ornament and birds that are alike characteristic of both the early Coptic and the Christian Keltic. The so-called wheel-cross, which can be traced from Cornwall and Wales through the Isle of Man into Wigtownshire—but according to Mr Romilly Allen, not further into Scotland—has equally an Egyptian origin, and I have found it associated with the sacramental cup, which came afterwards to be replaced by the chalice, on rocks in what had once been the neighbourhood of pre-Mohammedan monasteries at Assuan. After this we need not be surprised that even the typical *crux ansata*, or emblem of life, which took the place of the cross on the early monuments of Christian Egypt, should be met with again as far north as Nigg in Ross-shire, as well as at Ardboe in Ireland, while at Kirkmadrine in Wigtownshire sepulchral inscriptions of the fifth century are found surmounted by the Coptic cross with the so-called *rho* attached to its upper limb, the origin of which has been traced to the lock of hair of the Egyptian god, the younger Horus. Even the Ruthwell Cross preserves a recollection of Egypt in the legend attached to the figures of two saints, 'St Paul and St Antony broke bread in the desert.' The illuminations of the earlier Keltic MSS. reflect the influence of the East and of the West. In the pictures of the Evangelists, for instance, in the Gospels of Lindisfarne, not only are the pictures themselves 'Byzantine in character,' but the Egypto-Greek title *O agios* in Latin letters is attached to the names of the Evangelists"[1] (Pl. XXV. fig. 3).

Professor Sayce concludes that, "when St Augustine came to England he found the Keltic Church" possessing "a substructure which went back to the Roman Church of the fourth century, but had been profoundly influenced and modified by Oriental rites and doctrine, and more especially by the monasticism and art of Egypt."[2] By the fifth century Egypt had

[1] Sayce, "The Indebtedness, etc.," *Trans. Scot. Eccl. Soc.*, iii., iii. 256.
[2] *Ibid.*, 255, 258.

BEWCASTLE CROSS, FROM NORTH-EAST.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 132.

taught the Gallic Church, which in turn taught Britain, Ireland, and Scotland. To and from the Oriental monastery in the Lerins proceeded Faustus of Britain, Patrick of Erin, Germanus of Auxerre, and Lupus with new inspiration. Thus Egyptian monks led the Northern ecclesiastical fashions; and the much-ridiculed Boece was not far from the truth when he considered some monuments in North-east Scotland to be "relicks of the Ægyptian fashions." But relics from the northern area influenced by Oriental teachers and artists prove that the refined figure sculpture seen on the two crosses under review is of a higher standard. Irish or Anglo-Irish monks were merely ingenious adapters or developers of ancient Oriental motives, and by reason of their deficiency of artistic genius became painfully exact executants of un-ideal patterns, who sought satisfaction in the grotesque.

Marvellously beautiful as all this mechanical art of the Irish illuminators is, it is, when accompanied by figures of angels, men, or animals, which are always badly drawn and out of perspective, indicative of the lack of a free spirit moved by high ideals. Living beings are depicted like inanimate ones. Westwood thus refers to this ineptitude: "It is indeed impossible to imagine anything more childish than the miniatures contained in the splendid Hibernian and Anglo-Saxon MSS. of this period (seventh and eighth centuries). Neither can it be said to have materially improved between the eighth and the eleventh centuries, the drawing of the human figure being rude, etc." [1] The same authority cites and agrees with Waagen regarding the likenesses of the Evangelists in the Lindisfarne Gospels: "These paintings, on the contrary, have a very barbarous appearance, but are executed in their way with the greatest mechanical skill." [2] Similarly Propert writes on this feature: "It is indeed almost incredible that artists who could produce such lovely ornaments would rest satisfied with such hideous and grotesque travesties of the human form." [3] The failure has been thus explained: "The figure-drawing is crude and shadowless, because it belongs to an art which did not aim at representation, but was essentially ornamental." [4] The latest authority, Mr J. A. Herbert, asserts that "man, as seen by the Celtic artist, is a purely geometrical animal . . . a decorative pattern, but has no relation to real life." [5] This inexpertness characterised the figure-

[1] J. O. Westwood, *Palæographia Sacra Pictoria*, xiii.

[2] *Ibid.*, citing Waagen, *Art and Artists in England*, i. 137.

[3] J. L. Propert, *Hist. of Miniature Art*, Lond., 1887, 18.

[4] Rev. S. F. H. Robinson, *Celtic Illum. Art in the Gospel Books of Durrow, Lindisfarne, and Kells.*

[5] *Illum. Manuscripts*, Lond., 1911, 70.

draughtsman of the Lindisfarne Gospels—and his work is the glory of Northumbrian art. To repeat (89, n. 2), Herbert speaks of the emblems in the Book of Durrow as "crude, conventional, grotesque";[1] of the execution of the Book of Durrow (seventh century) as "poor, the general effect mean and barbaric";[2] of the "flat and conventional technique" of the portraits in the Lindisfarne Gospels;[3] of the Gospels of St Chad (eighth century), "the drawing of the figure (of Christ) touches the limit of grotesque hideousness;"[4] of the noble Book of Kells (eighth or ninth century) and its picture of the Madonna and Child which "seems like a caricature of some early Byzantine painting. It is solemn but inept. Nothing could be less lifelike or more hideous than this Infant Christ, not even the large-headed, stony-eyed Madonna."[5] The same writer says of the MacRegol Gospels (†820): "Faces are flat and geometrical, perspective does not exist";[6] of the MacDurnan Gospels (†927): "The figure drawing is impossible, and the drapery still more so."[7] The writer can homologate these conclusions, having carefully examined nearly all the MSS. referred to above, as well as others of early date, such as Alcuin's Bible,[8] Æthelstan's Psalter,[9] Aldhelm's MS. "De Virginitate,"[10] the Gospel Lectionary of St Margaret,[11] and others,[12] all of which bear out the contention that the figure designs on the two crosses are immeasurably superior to anything attempted by draughtsmen between the seventh and eleventh centuries.

Ferocious Danes and iconoclastic Norman reformers have left few of the works raised by pious hands to indicate indubitably the condition of craftsmanship in stone, wood, or metal before the Norman Conquest. Many of the Anglo-Saxon churches have been obliterated, like that of Plumbland in Northumbria; but we have still in that area sufficient masonry left, as at Monk-Wearmouth, Jarrow, and Hexham, to show that, as far as simple building construction was concerned, Northern craftsmen were there to do it efficiently. It was to Jarrow that King Naitan, king of the Picts, sent to Ceolfrid for "master builders" in stone in 710.[13] Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, merely mentions that Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid "built," the one a monastery and the other "these courts" at Ripon; but when he refers

[1] *Illum. Manuscripts*, 71. [2] *Ibid.*, 72. [3] *Ibid.*, 74.
[4] *Ibid.*, 76. [5] *Ibid.*, 77. [6] *Ibid.*, 80.
[7] *Ibid.*, 80. [8] In British Museum.
[9] In Brit. Mus. [10] In Lambeth Palace. [11] In the Bodleian Lib.
[12] In reproductions, the Golden Psalter and Folchart Psalter of St Gall.
[13] Bede, v., xxi.

to Acca of Hexham he writes: "He enriched the structure of his church . . . with manifold adornments and marvellous workmanship."[1] When Eddi, the singer and companion of Wilfrith, wrote the Life of Wilfrith, he mentioned the fact that on Wilfrith's return to Northumbria with Eonan and himself, evidently from Kent only, he also took masons and other agents in his company.[2] Hexham Church, as a result, was for Eddi the finest beyond the Alps—an inspiration of the Holy Spirit given to Wilfrith. With such a text it was easy for William of Malmesbury early in the twelfth century to assert that Wilfrith's liberality attracted these artisans from Rome to imitate its ambitious basilicas;[3] as easy for Richard of Hexham (1138–1154) to have Wilfrith bring them from Rome, Italy, France, and other lands wherever he could find them;[4] and no less difficult for Ailred of Rievaulx (1109?–1166) to make Wilfrith's "transmarine artificers" execute marvellous lapidary and pictorial work at Hexham.[5]

Unless the pictorial productions and sculptured works of Wilfrith's age have been wholly annihilated, the art and culture he inspired must be appraised by a reference to such relics as are housed in the Cathedral Library at Durham, or are yet standing as crosses, or are broken and built into many parish churches between the Humber and the Cheviots.[6] If the finest work of the Hexham school is exhibited upon the cross-heads of Durham and Acca's Cross, with the other cross-fragments from Hexham preserved in Durham, a comparison will show at a glance that it is not in the same category with that displayed at Ruthwell or Bewcastle.[7] Where figures exist on these fragments

[1] Bede, v., xx.

[2] *Hist. of the Church of York* (Eddius, *Vita S. Wilfridi*, cap. xiv.), i. 22: "*Ideo autem venerabiliter vivens, omnibus carus, episcopalia officia per plura spatia agens, cum Cantoribus Ædde et Eonan, et cæmentariis, omnisque pœne artis institoribus, regionem suam rediens cum regula Sancti Benedicti, instituta ecclesiarum Dei bene meliorabat.*" Eddi also states that Wilfrith's new Church of St Andrew at Hexham, as far as he had heard, excelled all others on this side the Alps: "*neque enim ullam domum citra Alpes montes talem ædificatam audivimus*"; its founder having been inspired by the Spirit of God, he believed.

[3] *Gesta Pontificum*, iii. 255 (Rolls S.): "arbitratu quidem multa proprio, sed et cementariorum, quos ex Roma spes munificentiæ attraxerat, magisterio."

[4] Raine, *Priory of Hexham*, i. 20: "De Roma quoque, et Italia, et Francia, et de aliis terris, ubicunque invenire poterat, cæmentarios, et quoslibet alios industrios artifices, secum retinuerat, et ad opera sua facienda secum in Angliam adduxerat."

[5] Cook, *The Date*, 288, n. 2 (77); Raine, i. 175: "Wilfridus, adductis secum ex partibus transmarinis artificibus, miro lapideo tabilatu . . . picturis et cælaturis multiphariam decoravit."

[6] Mr W. G. Collingwood has found fragments of 240 crosses in the North Riding of Yorkshire: Prior and Gardner, *Acc. of Med. Fig. Sculpt.*, ii. 114, n. 3. The same proof of vandalism holds good for other counties in Scotland and England.

[7] Durham Cross-heads: *Catalogue*, 78–85, Nos. xx., xxi., xxii., xxiii. Hexham fragments: *Catal.*, 53–68, Nos. iii.–xi., illust.

they are crude productions, and only the floral designs can be compared favourably. The same conclusion holds good, as far as referable, for those representative standing crosses, Irton, Dearham, and Gosforth, and to many sculptured fragments (some of which lack human and animal form) used as rubble in Workington, Chester-le-Street, Cross-Canonby, Carlisle, Halton, Gilcrux, Stamfordham, Billingham, and Stanton-le-Street.[1] All of these specimens of sculptured stone exhibit skill of an order inferior to that required for the two Runic roods. Many of them are more in keeping with the elementary incised carving found on St Cuthbert's coffin.[2] Rivoira, while admitting that fragments from Hexham and Jarrow, now housed in Durham, may be ascribed to French artists brought by Benedict Biscop, and that Wilfrith did build the fine church of St Andrew, Hexham, thinks that the sterility of England must have been the cause of their bringing foreign artists, but that Wilfrid would not "have taken the trouble to bring artists from beyond the seas in order to produce work of this kind." [3] (Pl. XXX.)

There are no historical facts to guide us as to the date of the so-called Cross of Acca. Symeon's references to the death and burial of Acca outside the Church of Hexham, with "two stone crosses decorated with wonderful relief carving, one at his head, the other at his feet," to the subsequent exhumation and interment of his body in the church, and to the conservation of his robes taken from his remains, more than three hundred years after their first burial, give no information at first hand, nor yet state when the crosses were erected, and that they existed when the writer then recorded their history. Indeed, the writer's change of tense, when using the word "placed," as seen in the footnote, *positæ sunt, positus est, posita erant*, suggests the idea that the chronicler, whom Symeon followed, was at the exhumation of Acca in 1040, and saw the memorial crosses then erected or re-erected [4] (Pl. XXIX. fig. 1).

[1] Calverley, 206, 124, 138–170, 282–4, 278, 107, 95, 183, 136; Greenwell, 69, 95, 92, illust.

[2] Greenwell, 141–151.

[3] G. T. Rivoira, *Lombardic Architecture*, Lond., 1910, ii. 138–146. The stone "frith-stool" usually associated with Wilfrith and preserved in Hexham Church has a *triquetra* carved upon it. That was a symbol struck at York on the coins of Sihtric Gale (921–6) and of Olaf Kuaran (949 ?): Grueber, *Handbook*, 20, pl. iv. Nos. 114, 116.

[4] The editor of Symeon—Raine—states that this *Historia Regum* is "for the most part a verbatim copy or an abridgment of earlier writers, with certain additions, some of which are possibly from the pen of Symeon, while others have unquestionably been added by a later hand." Symeon, not born for twenty years after the exhumation of Acca, must have been quoting an authority for the erection, or at least existence, of these crosses in 1040, or their existence in his own day, 1130, if still existing.

Symeon Dunelmensis Opera, edit. J. Raine (Surtees Soc.), 1868, i., pref. ix: *Historia Regum*, 14: "Corpus vero ejus ad orientalem plagam extra parietem ecclesiæ Haugustaldensis, quam

It has been urged that even the coinage of the early English kings shows artistic skill, and that the jewel of King Ælfred is a proof of the existence of developed art. But neither in Keary and Poole's *Catalogue of English Coins* nor in Grueber's *Handbook* could a reader find, on the sixty plates depicting the coinage from the time of King Offa to that of King Harold II., a specimen exhibiting accurate figure drawing. The figure on King Ælfred's jewel, although it is admittedly good work, cannot be compared with the Christ of Ruthwell.

Mr W. G. Collingwood, who has made a complete survey of between five and six hundred different monuments in Yorkshire alone, and has prepared a most instructive, fully illustrated, series of papers on Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture, which has appeared in the *Yorkshire Archæological Journal*, has arrived at important generalisations on the subject[1] (cf. *postea*, Appendix III.). According to Mr Collingwood, these carved stones throughout Northumbria can be tabulated into ten distinct classes between the time of the conversion of the English to Christianity and that of the Norman Conquest. He admits that, "as the wheel-heads are associated with the later style of ornament and cutting, it seems that wheel crosses were later in use here than free-armed crosses. They may have been introduced from Ireland, either by the natural spread of a picturesque fashion or by the intercourse of York and Dublin in the tenth-century Danish period"; [2] "The Anglian carver of the seventh to the ninth centuries was not working under Irish influence; . . . after the middle of the tenth century MSS. illuminators almost abandoned interlacing for conventional foliage. We find hardly a trace of this kind of foliage in our series"; [3] "Few or none of our monuments can be dated before the Synod of Streoneshalch (664)"; [4] "It is impossible to believe that some of these sculptures were executed after the great disasters of the Danish invasion." [5] Nevertheless Mr Collingwood, incongruously we think, places the well-developed sculpture of Ruthwell, Bewcastle, Croft *a*, and Northallerton *a* at the head of his series. (Cf. *postea*, Appendix III.)

xxiiii. annis pontificali rexit dignitate; sepultum est: duæque cruces lapideæ mirabili cælatura decoratæ *positæ sunt*, una ad caput, alia ad pedes ejus. In quarum una, quæ scilicet ad caput est, literis insculptum est, quod in eodem loco sepultus sit. De quo loco post annos plusquam ccc. depositionis suæ . . . translatus est, ac in ecclesia . . . *positus est.* Ubi usque hodie (*i.e.* 1040 or later) in magna veneratione habetur . . . casula et tunica et sudarium quæ cum sanctissimo ejus corpore in terra *posita erant* . . . servant."

[1] *York. Arch. Journ.*, 1907, xix. 267–413; 1910, xx. 149–213; 1911, xxi. 254–302.
[2] *Ibid.*, xix. 274. [3] *Ibid.*, 289. [4] *Ibid.*, 290. [5] *Ibid.*, 292.

The statement of Symeon of Durham (1130), that in his day Bishop Æthelwold's name-inscribed "cross of curious workmanship" was still standing in Durham, does not help us to appraise its artistic worth.[1] The Cross was an object of awe and veneration to all Christians, and the discovery of the veritable Rood was of engrossing interest to pilgrims. Arculf, Bede, Willibald, Bernard, and Saewulf all refer to the finding of the Cross. Pope Marinus in 883–4 sent a part of the "lignum Domini" to King Ælfred, who in turn gave it to Glastonbury Abbey.[2] William of Malmesbury relates that in 926 "Hugo, Dux Francorum," brought a nail of the Cross in the pommel of Constantine's sword, a part of the Cross, and a part of the crown of thorns to King Æthelstan.[3] Æthelstan in turn gave a part of the Cross (*halgan rode*) to St Peter's Minster, Exeter, in 932.[4] Richard de Segbrook, shrine-keeper in Durham, in 1383 thus inventories the portions of the Cross in his charge: "*Item*, a silver cross with a piece of the Cross: *item*, portions of the Tree of the Lord."[5] These relics in Glastonbury and Exeter must have interested St Dunstan. One of the manuscripts formerly belonging to Glastonbury is now a treasure in the Bodleian Library, and contains a homily in Anglo-Saxon on *The Invention of the Cross*.[6] The first folio *recto* shows a representation of Christ seated, and at His feet a monk kneeling. It is St Dunstan, as his own writing above the portrait indicates. The drawing is well done. The date may be 956 A.D. (Pl. V. fig. 5). The Finding of the Cross was poetically treated by the so-called "Cynewulf" in his *Christ*, *Elene*, and *The Dream*, part of which is inscribed on the Cross of Ruthwell; and that author shows that he was familiar with classical and oriental lore and mythology, as well as with patristic theology. Thus East and West joined hands near Hadrian's Wall at Bewcastle and Ruthwell. Might not the tools from East and West also have been used together there? Another conjunction might be neither impossible nor improbable, namely, the association of St Dunstan and two contemporaries, Æthelmær and Æthelwold—the rood-makers (cf. p. 103),—with that other important witness at Court, Cadmon, in this work of rood-rearing. Cadmon, although the name has Cymric relatives too, might indicate an oriental, Alexandrian, peregrine sculptor who found a position in the brilliant staff of St Dunstan, and left proof of his practical art, if not his name, on the Rood of Ruthwell.

[1] *Hist. Church of Durham*, xii. 642, edit. Stevenson. [2] *Ang.-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 66.
[3] Stevenson's edit., 117. [4] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 389. [5] Raine, *St Cuthbert*, 124, 126.
[6] *Auctarium*, F. iv. 32; Macray, *Annals of Bodleian*, 20; Stubbs, *Vita S. Dunstani*, cxi.

Bewcastle Parish Church and Cross, from North-West.

Photograph by Mr J. C. Montgomerie.

To face page 138.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DATES ASSIGNABLE TO THE RUNIC ROODS

Perennial discussions arise as to the date of these far-famed monuments, and diverse are the results of the authorities. There are two main classes of expert disputants, one favouring a reference to the last quarter of the seventh century or thereby, and the other to a much later period—the eleventh or twelfth century—as the most suitable period for the founding and fabrication of these crosses. A list of the writers and the dates they have condescended upon will indicate how the disputation stands :—

For an early date : Kemble (7th, 8th, or 9th century) ; Maughan (665) ; Haigh (660) ; Dietrich (764–794) ; Stephens (B. 670, R. 680) ; J. A. H. Murray (660) ; Hammerich (end 7th c.) ; Sweet (670 and 680) ; Vigfusson and Powell (700–800) ; Müller (after 800, before 1000) ; Bishop Browne (665, B. 670, R. 685) ; Bradley (665) ; Bugge (670–680) ; Calverley (670) ; Brook (8th c.) ; Vietor (before 700) ; Greenwell (end 7th c.) ; Collingwood (B. 670–1) ; Prior and Gardner (670) ; Brandl (early 8th c.) ; Paues (8th c.) ; Skeat (8th c.) ; Baldwin Brown (7th c. ?) ; Lethaby (670–1) ; Champneys (B. 670) ; Hodgkin (B. 670).

For a later date : Nicolson (after 10th c.) ; Hickes, Gordon, Smith, Chalmers (Danish or Norse) ; Allen (9th to 11th c.) ; Stokes (11th c.) ; Sievers (late) ; Anderson (after 1000 ?) ; Rousseau (9th c.) ; Enlart (12th c.) ; Rivoira (1150) ; Bentinck-Smith (10th c.) ; Brydall (10th c.) ; Cook (after 950 : 1150).

The defenders of the early date, for numbers, and it may be for weight of opinion, as yet hold the field ; but the present writer cannot fall into line with them, nor yet with the extremists on the other position, who advance strong reasons for their conclusions. There are certain facts which rule a too early date out of court. This applies to the more elaborate Cross at Ruthwell in the first instance ; but, as few differentiate their dates far apart, these considerations apply to the Obelisk as well. These considerations are (1) symbolical, (2) sculptural, (3) literary, and (4) historical.

1. The existence of the crucifix symbol, and the representation upon it of a semi-nude Christ, dead (or as alive), was impossible in Northumbria in the seventh century, as has been previously proved. The John-the-Baptist symbol, in the form shown on Ruthwell (according to most observers also on Bewcastle) Cross, is a late symbol also, as already suggested.

2. The superexcellence of the sculpture and the refinement of the execution of the high-toned themes portrayed preclude the possibility of such work being done in the seventh century, unless one postulates the unique rise and passing of a meteoric display of artistic genius, which memorialised its own marvellous efforts on these two crosses. As has been already shown, there are no other such productions, or even anything approaching them in stateliness, loveliness of conception, faultlessness of detailed execution, or in evidence of the complete mastery of genius over refractory material, to be discovered among the relics of early Christian civilisation in Britain. In their dignified perfection they must have outshone the great high-crosses of Ireland of a still later age. When compared with the general series of early British sculptured monuments, each of these stands as "Hyperion to a Satyr." Nor is there any proof that such huge blocks of stone could be manipulated in early Anglo-Saxon times; far less that designers of the cross had conceived or worked out the pierced wheel-headed form which Ruthwell Cross undoubtedly was shaped into.[1] This last factor in the case alone ought to make archæologists pause before assigning an early date to either monument, although it is not imperative to accept the summation of Rivoira: "To sum up, all these wheel-head crosses, a characteristic of which is the gabled structure representing the Holy Sepulchre by which they are crowned, . . . are later than the Norman Conquest of England."[2] And referring to the mediæval revival of sculpture he writes: "So far as the carving is concerned this revival cannot have become effective till considerably after the beginning of the eleventh century."[3] The type of wheel-head or "Irish cross" was probably fixed before A.D. 800, an example being seen on Abbot Tuathgal's tomb (806); and the developed free-standing type is referable to the beginning of

[1] Cf. Appendix IV., p. 173—"The Weight of the Monuments"; 5, 38–43, 91, 140; Appendix III., 170. The heights of other crosses are these: Sandbach, 22 feet; Forres (cross-slab), 20 feet; Iona (with base), 16 feet 8 inches; Gosforth, 14 feet; Altyre, 11 feet 3 inches; Coppleston, 10 feet 6 inches; Kildalton, 8 feet 8 inches; Ilkley, 8 feet 4 inches; Eyam, 8 feet 3 inches; Barochan, 8 feet 3 inches; Mugdrum, 8 feet; Bakewell, 8 feet. Some of the Irish crosses, of admittedly later date, are even taller. Cf. 153, n. 1.

[2] *Lombardic Architecture*, ii. 256.

[3] *Ibid.*, 257.

the tenth century.[1] Not earlier than the tenth century was this Cross of Ruthwell a possible production.

3. Literary reasons for rejecting either an early or a late date for these monuments are simple and clear, if it is conceded that the inscriptions upon Ruthwell Cross are of contemporaneous date with the making of the work, or even if it is allowed that the inscribed quotation is older than the sculptured workmanship. The Bewcastle inscriptions must be ignored as unreliable and unsafe bases for reasoning on. The incised text from *The Dream of the Rood* can give little or no clue to a date, inasmuch as an old poem would linger long in public memory, and a new one, like an old one, would be quoted by a Southern English artist in terms appropriate to the place and people most interested. Nor will the kind of runes preserved fix a date, any more than the Hiberno-Saxon letters, since both had a long-continued currency in England. There is something substantial to base an argument upon when we find the literary characteristics of the sacred epic from which the quotation or paraphrase is culled—the form, doctrine, spirit—so different and so indicative of a great advance in the way of poetically expressing Scriptural truth and patristic conceptions, when compared with the best productions of the Anglo-Saxon intellect. The author of the poem was a genius who had emancipated himself from many of the conservative ideas that hampered the literary craftsman, and was a Modern in tone and spirit. Yet not so modern was he, that his refined delineation of the Cross would seem incongruous when immortalised on stone in letters illegible only to a very late-date reader of Anglian or foreign blood. The use of runes, the revival of art, architecture, and pious learning, special reverence for the Cross, a lofty tone in civil and sacred life, the rise of a great artist, are notes of the tenth century.

4. The historical reasons for discarding the seventh century as the date of the crosses are very cogent. The people for whom such magnificent *tituli* were designed must have attained to a high degree of spiritual culture and of perception of the beautiful, and yet no other relics of this superfine civilisation exist in that favoured region, which was essentially Celtic. For what tribe of Rune-reading wanderers in the seventh century would it be necessary to erect in the oak forest of Ruthwell a gigantic "beacon of victory," visualising by symbol the cardinal doctrines of the Faith? If these crosses were erected in St Cuthbert's age, we must include their preservation among

[1] George Coffey, *Guide Celt. Antiq. Dublin*, 1910, 85.

his miracles. Many chroniclers mournfully recorded the almost incredible stories of the ferocity of the pagan pirates who swept over England, surging from both seas right over the Border-land, destroying everything Christian. These murderous Northmen began their devilry in St Cuthbert's own church, whence his very bones were made to flee for many years. Destruction was their "wont," says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.[1] Historians confessed they had no language to describe their barbarities. For Ireland too the author of the *War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill* says he fails to depict their atrocities.[2] Alcuin of York (793) declared that "never has such a horror appeared in Britain."[3] In the language of Green: "So thoroughly was the work of destruction done that the country where letters and culture had till now found their favourite home remained for centuries to come the rudest and most ignorant part of Britain."[4] Still more important is the testimony of Symeon of Durham (1130), when referring to Halfdene's cruel devastations in 875: "Fire and sword were carried from the eastern sea to the western," and the churches were obliterated; "and so thoroughly did they do their work that even our present generation can seldom discover in those places any conclusive memorial of their ancient dignity, sometimes none."[5] Nor must the early Scots be acquitted of similar ravages—King Malcolm (942–954) being styled "a most ferocious man, bearing a bestial mind, accustomed to devastate the province of Northumbria."[6]

Consequently one must conclude that the objects of early Christian reverence in those parts were pulverised by the Danes and other barbarians in the eighth and ninth centuries, long before the pagan King Olaf Kuaran and his allies landed on Solway shore to meet defeat by Æthelstan's Christian Englishmen at Brunanburh, now Birrenswark Camp, near Ruthwell. And this brutal king, even after he became baptized, had an evil name for tyranny in Northumbria, from which he was expelled. He was also guilty of the spoliation of the Church in Ireland. After being subdued at Tara, Olaf Kuaran was compelled to retire to Iona, where he died. It is reasonable to suppose that these two crosses were reared in times of peace to indicate the victory of Christianity over such paganism. In an epoch only when peace, power, and priesthood were held in general reverence could such works be erected. When was there a settled peace in England? Not till after St Cuthbert

[1] Anno 1000.
[2] Todd, *Cogadh Gaedhel*, etc., Lond., 1867, 41.
[3] Browne, *Alcuin*, 129.
[4] *The Conquest*, i. 105.
[5] *Hist. Church Durham*, xii. 642, xx. 652, xxii. 656.
[6] Symeon, *Opera*, i. 16 (Surtees Soc.).

appeared in a vision to King Ælfred and inspired him to victory was there even a foundation of peace.[1] At Ælfred's death (901) the chronicler recorded: "He was king over all the Angle race, except the part that was under the dominion of the Danes."[2] Successive kings, from Ælfred to Cnut, acknowledged St Cuthbert as the tutelary saint of Anglo-Saxon England, made pilgrimage and prayed over his body, loaded his corpse and shrine with precious gifts, endowed his church, and attributed their victories to his patronage.[3] Reverence for St Cuthbert, at first royal, became the popular cult.[4]

King Æthelstan, on his accession in 925, began a policy of consolidation of the nation, and in 926 "bound fast the peace" with the Northern kings, a compact that lasted seven years.[5] Then was the first opportunity for a peace-memorial on the Borders. In 933–4 the peace was broken, and Æthelstan, with his army, made costly vows at St Cuthbert's tomb before they entered into and devastated Scotland. The lull from war was temporary, and again in 937 he crossed into Strathclyde, as the Chronicle records: "King Æthelstan and Eadmund his brother led a force to Brunanburh, and there fought against Olaf, and, Christ aiding, had victory, and there they slew five kings and seven jarls."[6] This was a second opportunity for rearing a column of victory. On Æthelstan's death King Eadmund, still worried by Kings Constantine and Olaf Kuaran of Dublin, came to pray and vow at St Cuthbert's grave for victory over Olaf and Ragnald, which he soon obtained. A more lasting peace he secured in 945, as the Chronicle records, when "he gave it all (Cumbria) to Malcolm, king of Scots, on the condition that he should be his co-operator both on sea and on land."[7] This was the most favourable time for a peace-memorial. This politic grant put an end to the inroads of the Dublin Northmen by the west coasts, through this placing of a buffer state between these pagans and the lands they coveted. Might not the final treaty be struck not far from the ancient treaty stone, "Clochmaben," in the old shrine of Apollo-Maponos, near Solway shore, and the visible memorial — the

[1] Symeon, *Opera*, i. 144: "Vocor autem Cuthbertus, Christi miles . . . ero scutum tuum, et amicus tuus, et defensor filiorum tuorum."

[2] *Anglo-Sax. Chron.*, ii. 75.

[3] Symeon, *Opera*, i. 145, 146, 149, 150, 231, 232. For Frithestan's episcopal robes placed by Æthelstan on St Cuthbert's remains, cf. *Burlington Magazine*, cxxi., cxxii.

[4] Symeon, *Relatio de St Cuthberto*, i. 231: "Hi omnes Cultores Sancti Cuthberti leges . . . confirmaverunt et servaverunt."

[5] *A.-S. Chron.*, ii. 85. [6] *Ibid.*, ii. 86. [7] *Ibid.*, ii. 90.

Siegesaüle—also be erected in the clearing (*thwaite*) of the Red Wood (*Roth-wald*) whence brave Æthelstan drove Scot and Dane pell-mell into their mighty fleet in the Solway Firth in 937 ? And the old battle-song in the Chronicle narrates how

> " departed then the Northmen
> In their nailéd barks
> . . . . . .
> On the roaring sea (*on dynges mere*)
> O'er the deep water
> Dublin to seek." [1]

The " dinging deep " is reminiscent of the wild rush of the tide of Solway.

Peace was hardly yet. King Eadmund, " the dear deed performer," was murdered in 946, and his successor, Eadred, had troubles with the Northumbrians and their petty kings, whom he superseded in 954.[2] Real peace was not secured till the reign of the pious King Eadgar (959–975), the patron of St Dunstan, of whom the Chronicle said : " God him granted that he dwelt in peace." [3] St Dunstan in his cell heard a sublime voice announcing the birth of this great prince, Eadgar, thus : " Pax Anglorum ecclesiæ exorti nunc pueri et Dunstani nostri tempore " (*i.e.* 943).[4]

After St Cuthbert, no other Englishman has more glamoured the mediæval mind than St Dunstan did (Pl. V. fig. 5). Possessed of an extraordinary genius, he was the greatest Saxon before the Conquest. If Symeon is to be credited, he was born in 919,[5] was therefore able to fight at Brunanburh with gallant Eadmund and to write the stirring battle-song, and was still young when in 943 Eadmund made him abbot of Glastonbury, where he had been a pupil and became instructed in Irish accomplishments.[6] So great were his attainments that his biographers embellished the account of them with miracles, and so obscured his greatness. Personally he must have been supereminent to whom Anselm offered prayers as to God,[7] and for whom King Cnut ordained a national anniversary. He was the irresistible spirit of his age, and made it notable. Of him Green wrote : " He dared to create an England, and to crown the lord of these realms as its national king " ; in Dunstan's time " London rose to the commercial greatness it has held ever

[1] *A.-S. Chron.* i. 206, ii. 88. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 91. [3] *Ibid.*, ii. 92.
[4] Stubbs, *Vita S. Dunstani* (Adelardo), 56.
[5] *Hist. Church Durham*, xxxii. 668. The *A.-S. Chron.* gives 925 for D.'s birth : ii. 85.
[6] *A.-S. Chron.* ii. 90 ; Florence says 942. A charter of 940 mentions him as abbot ; another in 946 also.
[7] *Vita S. Dunstani*, 451.

Fig. 1. Acca's Cross.

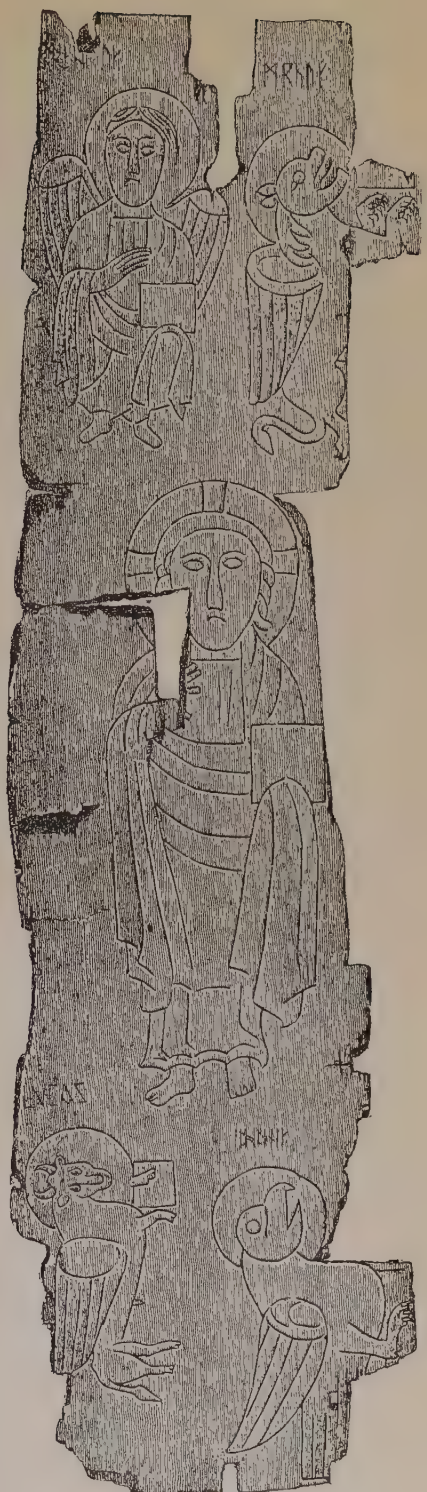


Fig. 2. St Cuthbert's Coffin.

To face page 144.

since." [1] He was England's "Candelabra"; and "he filled all England with light," says another writer.[2] The Breviary in use at York gave him credit for the increase of religion.[3] On Dunstan's Day, throughout the land the celebrants called him "blessed," who had the goodly record of being a poet, linguist, wizard, traveller, mechanic, artist, sculptor, bell-founder, builder, musician, instrumentalist, preacher, priest, politician, premier, and primate of England, as his biographies prove.

Among this remarkable archbishop's accomplishments were painting,[4] and sculpture [5] in any material. His early attainments were increased by Continental travel, association and correspondence with the most learned men of his time, and by study. If it is incredible that Abbot Dunstan went to the Abbey of Fleury à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire for his initiation into the Benedictine Order,[6] and that he rebuilt Glastonbury "according to a pattern which he had out of France," [7] it is certain that there was a close intercourse between Glastonbury and Fleury then,[8] that from Fleury, on Dunstan's suggestion, the famous scholar Abbo came in order to write the life of the martyr-king, Eadmund; [9] and Oswald the Dane (a Northman) came to assist Dunstan's great pupil, Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon and bishop of Winchester, to spread their monastic rule. St Dunstan, in his policy of conciliating Northumbria, promoted the Northmen to positions in Church and State, as Green points out. The runes on the Northern monuments were in keeping with this policy.

Under the same inspiration arose the many monasteries, which were also schools of art, in the tenth century, so that "during the reigns of Edgar and his sons no fewer than forty monasteries for men were founded and restored, and these were peopled chiefly by monks trained at Abingdon or Winchester." [10] According to Herbert, "the latter half of the tenth century finds the Winchester school at its zenith." [11] There were other great schools at Ramsey, Canterbury, York, Cambridge, and St Edmund's Bury, founded by Abbo.[12]

[1] *Short Hist.*, i. 107.
[2] *Vita* ("B."), 50; A. R. Waller, *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, i., ch. viii. 150.
[3] *Vita S. Dunstani*, 449.
[4] *Vita* ("B."), 20.
[5] *Vita* ("Osberno"), 79: "Præterea manu aptus ad omnia, posse facere picturam, litteras formare, scalpello (sculpello), imprimere, ex auro, argento, ære et ferro, quicquid liberet operari."
[6] Sharon Turner, *Hist. Ang.-Sax.*, ii. 213, n. 47.
[7] Hearne, *The Hist. and Antiq. of Glaston.*, 32.
[8] *Vita S. Dunstani*, 376.
[9] *Ibid.*, 378, 410.
[10] *Camb. Hist. Eng. Lit.* (Westlake), i. 113.
[11] *Illum. Manuscripts*, 124.
[12] J. B. Mackinlay, O.S.B., *St Edmund*, New York, 1893, 69.

Of St Dunstan's proficiency as a draughtsman or craftsman we have such meagre proofs that one can only accept as true what his biographers said of his artistic talent. The little sketch of himself at the feet of Jesus Christ, usually accepted as his own work, shows some skill.[1] Apart from his practical work, St Dunstan was completely obsessed by two ideas, the Cross, and its teaching—Peace. In the many charters which he subscribed the Cross is designated under every conceivable denomination in Latin and Græco-Latin, and his episcopal seal bears the words, "Pax Vobis."[2] This wonderful personage, whose name was a household word in mediæval Christendom, died in 988. If such a genius, associated with all his brilliant contemporaries of the Benedictine Order, was not able to found and design, perhaps also carve the finer presentments, *e.g.* the Majesty, on both monuments, why should we suppose that some later but unknown artists, two centuries later, could execute them?

It may be admitted that, with one exception, what has been said of St Dunstan and his times equally applies to the epoch of Scotland's great king, David I., who was a great champion of the Cross, conciliation, and peace in the twelfth century. And much can be said for Professor Cook's recent contention, which he supports with ample authorities, especially with the weighty conclusions of Eben William Robertson, that King David inspired the founders of these crosses, or personally caused their erection, when

> "He illumynyd in his dayis
> His landys with kyrkis and wyth abbayis."[3]

The complete picture which Professor Cook gives of the Southern Scotland of King David, with flourishing overseas commerce, noble and gallant foreign chivalry at court, peaceful lands adorned with religious houses, and the prayerful lover of "the Black Rood of his Mother" on the throne, has its parallel in John Richard Green's brilliant account of the Northern England St Dunstan made. As far as our concern with the monuments lies, the difference between these great Makers was this—St Dunstan could personally accomplish what King David employed others to do, and the latter had no reason, as far as is discoverable, for adorning the waste places of his realm with roods which are still a world's wonder for the Anglo-Saxon race.

[1] Bodleian Library, MS. Auctarium F., iv. 32. Another book in the same library, *Liber Sancti Dunstani* (No. 42), has another sketch attributed to him, entitled "Wulfric Cild"—the head of a boy—his brother, most probably. Cf. *antea*, 103.

[2] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, iii. 265.

[3] *The Date*, 306–320 (94–108); E. W. Robertson, *Scotland under her Early Kings*, i. 227–233.

Quoad ultra, the acknowledgment of the ability of hired employees of St Wilfrith and his contemporaries—Byzantine, Italian, or Gallic artisans—in the seventh century to execute such elaborate works in stone (and as far as the figure carving is concerned this is denied here), does not lessen perplexity in our search for reasons or causes for erecting such superexcellent productions remote from great missionary centres of enterprise, and on spots which, if once famous in these early days, the muse of history left in oblivion.

Almost unassailable would Professor Cook's most recent theory as to the late origin of the two crosses be, if he had proved the suitability of such unique memorials in an environment so obscure as that in which they are preserved, and distinguished as they are by appeals to intelligence expressed in obsolete characters quite unintelligible to the Borderers of the twelfth century. Except in a general way, there is no vestige of anything of interest to King David I. referable to Bewcastle and Ruthwell—no incident, no sacred site, no blood-stained field of victory, no fragment of a stately Christian shrine like Melrose, Jedburgh, Kelso, Holyrood. How entirely different is the case of his Anglo-Saxon predecessors in that gory arena whereon so many English kings marched and countermarched for centuries, till England was consolidated under one crown and peace secured! Professor Cook has admirably illustrated his theory and shown the influence of the enlightened monks from the European centres of civilisation, Tiron, Chartres, Beauvais, Clairvaux, Fleury, and Northern Italy, in producing the lovely specimens of many handicrafts, including architecture and sculpture, which cannot now be underestimated. But the motive of King David for erecting memorials—the one to a nebulous rebel kinglet, Alchfrid,[1] who is supposed to have died centuries before him, and the other to impress backwoodsmen with pictorial representations of the Gospel story, is difficult to explain, and is not explained or explainable on Professor Cook's theory that these crosses are examples of David's method and practice of Christianising his Cumbrian dominion.[2] Had the crosses been found at Carlisle, David's favourite city, or at Holme Cultram Abbey, Lanercost, Annan, or Lochmaben, one could have read his intention in them. But in King David's reign, as far as records show, there was no church in Ruthwell, and only three—Hoddom, St Mungo, and Dryfes-

[1] There is some discrepancy in Bede regarding this prince. In book iii. c. xiv. Bede makes Alchfrid join King Penda in attacking Alchfrid's father Oswy; and in c. xxiv. he makes Alchfrid and Oswy in 655 defeat and slay Penda at Winwaed. Alchfrid disappears from the historic page and no explanation is given.

[2] *The Date*, 325 (113).

dale—in the district; while by the end of the twelfth century there were only fifteen churches near, of which Ruthwell was not one. If St Cuthbert left a cell in the forest when he preached to the Niduari, or if his body-bearing pilgrims erected a dedicatory commemorative chapel on the spot where his remains rested before 882, the fane was silent (ruined by the Northmen ?) in the twelfth century, else so famous a place had been mentioned among twenty-four ecclesiastical settlements in the neighbourhood referred to in documents at the beginning of the fourteenth century. There is likelihood in the supposition that there was an early dedication to St Cuthbert in Ruthwell parish, when his festival (March 20) is referred to in the charter granted to John Murray of Cokpule in 1509, and a market cross referred to.[1] Cuthbert was a Christian name in this Murray family for centuries. The second charter granted to Bruce by David gave rights in Annandale *in forest*. According to Dr George Neilson: "Indeed, the Runic Cross there was hoary with age before ever a Bruce set foot in Britain."[2]

A connection with St Cuthbert, the alleged miracle-worker of the North, affords a key to the mystery of the origin of these memorials. As has been pointed out, St Cuthbert was the tutelary saint of King Ælfred (848–901) and the royal house of Wessex and England, his blessing being sought by successive kings. Notably King Æthelstan, Ælfred's grandson (894–940), in 933 (probably twice) visited and enriched St Cuthbert's body and shrine in Chester-le-Street.[3] According to Symeon, "he (Æthelstan) was the first of the kings of the whole of Britain who attained to unlimited dominion, and this was by the assistance of the blessed Cuthbert. . . . None of his predecessors on the throne loved the church of St Cuthbert as he did; . . . trusting in the protection of St Cuthbert he slew a countless multitude" under Olaf (*i.e.* at Brunanburh in 937).[4] It was a red-letter day in the Calendar.

Symeon also records that "King Eadmund when he was on his way into Scotland (944–945 ?) along with his army visited the shrine of St Cuthbert and entreated his assistance, and following herein the example of his late brother Æthelstan, he honoured it with royal gifts, namely gold and precious vestments."[5] The historian further declares that "he (Eadmund) attained his power through the servant of God, Dunstan, by whose counsels

[1] *Act. Parl. Scot.*, ii. (vii.) 275, 8 May 1509, "*et quod habeant* teneant et possideant in dicto burgo crucem foralem et forum die Jovis singulis ebdomadis et nundinas publicas annuatim diebus festivis Sancti Cuthberti." There is also "Cuddy's Lane" leading out of Dalton, near at hand.

[2] *Annandale under the Bruces*, 1887, 36.

[3] Symeon, *Hist. Church Durham* (Stevenson edit.), xxxiii. 669.

[4] *Ibid.*, 668, 669.

[5] *Ibid.*, 670.

he was rendered glorious." [1] One opportunity Eadmund had of erecting a peace-symbol, in 945, has been noticed. From 943 onwards Abbot Dunstan became the moving spirit in England, rising from the abbacy of Glastonbury to the throne of Canterbury in 960. But the murder of Eadmund in 946 made the influence of Dunstan supreme at the court of young Eadred—a veritable prince of peace. He was chosen king at the first national election by Briton, Englishman, and Dane, the first to have a national coronation, and the first to have the two archbishops acting in union to place on his head the diadem of "Angul-Saxna, et Nordhymbra, Paganorum, Brettonumque." [2]

The promise of St Cuthbert in a vision to King Ælfred had come true: "The rule of the whole of Britain shall be placed at the disposal of your sons by my assistance." If there was one personage in that royal demonstration of peace who would think of the Cross and St Cuthbert as the cause of all this unity and amity, it was Abbot Dunstan, who, as he informed Abbo of Fleury, had looked upon the uncorrupted body of the patron saint of England—St Cuthbert—lying in Chester-le-Street.[3]

One of the coronation grants was in favour of the thegn Wulfric, the brother of Dunstan, conveying to him land at Workington in the diocese of St Cuthbert, twenty-four miles from Ruthwell, and fifty from Bewcastle. It was attested by archbishops, petty kings, earls, and by "Cadmo" and "Dunstan Abbud," "triumphali trophæo"—with the cross.[4]

There was now in England a greater power at work than King David I. ever had, which, if it were necessary, could be utilised in 946, or while St Dunstan lived, to erect these peace memorials anywhere. As an early warden of the northern marches, Wulfric, "the most famous hunter" of his time, as a charter styles him, was at hand to see either or both monuments executed, and probably to leave a trace of his identity on the monolith at Bewcastle. Ruthwell, scene of strife, was a fit site for a Cross of Peace.

If Dunstan and his students at Glastonbury could not provide artistic craftsmen to raise such crosses, it was not long till Dunstan's chief scholar and assistant, Æthelwold, who led out the monks of Glastonbury to revive the fortunes of Abingdon and to render more famous King Ælfred's school at Winchester, could provide sculptors. The art that is found in the Æthelstan Psalter [5] was eclipsed within half a century by the excellent productions

[1] Symeon, *Hist. Church Durham* (Stevenson edit.), xxxiii. 503.
[2] Green, *The Conquest of England*, i. 316.
[3] Stubbs, *Vita*, 379.
[4] Birch, *Cart. Sax.*, ii. 576, 577: No. 815.
[5] In British Museum, Galba A, xviii.

of the Winchester school, which was at its zenith in the latter half of the tenth century, as far as the illuminated manuscript is concerned.[1] And draughtsmanship is a handmaid of the sculptor. Dunstan, as a designer, was a host in himself, able to paint and carve.[2] No doubt his pupils, Æthelwold and others, emulated him. He had seen great models abroad—in Rome and on the Continent. Dunstan's was a master mind obsessed with one great idea—the Cross. In his day the Northmen were still using the runes, as the Manx monuments prove, so that their appearance upon memorials while Odo, a Dane, ruled in the see of Canterbury, and Wulfstan I. of York guided the Danish party in the North, is not out of time or place. Apart altogether from the revival of monasticism through the Benedictine Order in Dunstan's day, he gave a great impulse to learning in all its branches, and particularly favoured literature in its popular and vernacular character. Hence the inscription of an English poem on an English cross is a fact in keeping with the genius of the politic statesman, who conciliated the Northmen in every way, even in that act by recording in Runic letters the teaching of the poet—himself probably that poet—in *The Dream of the Holy Rood.*

On account of the above-detailed reasons, there is ground for concluding, in opposition to Rivoira [3] and Cook,[4] who fix on the first half of the twelfth century as the date of the crosses, that two centuries earlier is more in keeping with facts and precedents. In opposition to Professor Lethaby, who thinks that they are "works of the high day of the Northumbrian school of art at the end of the seventh century," [5] and to Sir Martin Conway,[6] who contends that they are "the most conspicuous and important examples of a number of works" of the "Anglian School"—also of the seventh century,—the writer sees in them little correspondence with the productions of that period. They would be "isolated phenomena" beside works of the seventh century. That the subject is beset with difficulties, and that there is room for change of opinion on the production of new light, may be gathered from the attitude of an acknowledged authority on mediæval art—Professor W. R. Lethaby. In 1912 (June) he writes: "I am entirely satisfied that the Ruthwell Cross is a seventh-century monument"; [7] and later (August): "I am entirely convinced that the crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle were wrought in the

[1] Herbert, *Illum. Manuscripts*, 124.
[2] *Vita*, 20, 79, 80.
[3] *Burlington Mag.*, xxi., No. cix. 24.
[4] *The Date*, 361 (149).
[5] *Burl. Mag.*, xxiii., No. cxxi. 49; xxi., No. cxi. 146.
[6] *Ibid.*, xxi., No. cxii. 193.
[7] *Ibid.*, xxi., No. cxi. 146.

seventh century." [1] But in his excellent *Mediæval Art*, "new edition, revised and corrected 1912," Professor Lethaby states: "Sculpture of the earlier Byzantine School gradually spread over Europe: two of the best examples of the middle period are our own Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses, works probably of the eighth century, in which are figures and groups arranged according to a well-ordered iconographical tradition." [2] His next sentence refers to the Secondary Byzantine School, and to the period when "energy in image-making burst forth anew" and many art schools arose in Europe. The foregoing premisses suggest this later era for the creation of "these two milestones in the history of English sculpture," as the Commendatore G. T. Rivoira well designates our crosses.

Recapitulation and Conclusion

Bewcastle

The monolith at Bewcastle is an obelisk formerly completed with a finial—a cross, as likely as a cone—fixed by a tenon in the top of the block. The head of the cross sent to Camden was never a part of this monument. The sandstone of which it is formed is local. Its enormous size suggests a late period for its erection as a cross. The form of the shaft and of its panels, the subjects depicted, the ornamentation adopted—especially the plants and creatures—have early foreign analogues, and might be assigned to any date after 670 A.D.

But when we deal with the carved human figures on the monument the evidences point to a much later date. Such artistry in figure-carving

[1] *Arch Rev.*, xxxii., No. 189, 63.

[2] Lond., 1912, 216. Professor Lethaby's latest pronouncement is found in a pamphlet, *Is Ruthwell an Anglo-Keltic Work?* (reprinted from *The Archæol. Journ.*, lxx., No. 278; 2nd series, vol. xx., No. 2, pp. 145–161), Lond. 1913. In it he writes, p. 1 (145): "I have shown to my own satisfaction, at least, that the Bewcastle Cross is indeed a memorial set up to King Alcfrid about the year 670, and that the still finer cross of Ruthwell was a slightly earlier work. . . . (p. 148) The Bewcastle Cross is a personal memorial, that is a grave-cross. This is certain from the general type of the inscription apart from any disputed details. That the Ruthwell Cross was not such a memorial follows from the absence of such an inscription. (A tablet was left for an inscription.—J.K.H.) It is a high cross, an important, national or ecclesiastical monument . . . a royal work, paid for by national funds." We wonder what "national funds" existed in 670 A.D.!

Mr W. G. Collingwood, on the other hand, after "an organised and scientific treatment of the subject" of the Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in Northumbria, concludes (letter to Author, 13th January 1914): "If there is anything in the (*i.e.* his) method, the Ruthwell Cross falls into its place as a work of 750–800, rather earlier than later in the period."

was not possible in England sooner than the tenth century. The Runic characters are modern. They have not been decipherable for centuries; consequently the present large inscription is worthless as a public commemorative record (Pl. XXII.). If the inscription, read as KUNIBURG, is admitted, it may indicate a place-name, and help to fix the date of the erection of the local cross in the *burh*-building age—the tenth century. This cross being simpler in design, and, generally speaking, easier of execution than that at Ruthwell, may be looked upon as the earlier one. Had this obelisk been a Christian production of the seventh or eighth century, nothing short of a miracle could have prevented its defacement and partial or total destruction by the pagan Danes of later centuries.

Ruthwell

The Cross of Ruthwell, originally composed of several blocks, is the larger portion of a high, free-standing monument, formerly completed with a cross of a perforated wheel pattern, of which traces remain. The red sandstone out of which it is fabricated is every way identical in character with that once quarried in the Crossgills near Ruthwell Station. This cross is a finer copy of the same model than that of Bewcastle, and exhibits in design and ideography more proofs of foreign, especially Egyptian, influence.

The floral carving resembles that of Bewcastle, both being probably copied from a mediæval manual illustrative of the *ornamenta* in use in the Eastern and Western Churches, or from foreign models. The figure-carving, especially that delineating Jesus Christ on both crosses, is from a master's chisel, probably modelled from a plaster cast rather than from a large drawing or a miniature.[1] The perfect draughtsmanship thereby displayed is unlike any work of the early Northumbrian or Anglian schools, and suggests a date not in the seventh but in the tenth century, or even later.

Certain symbols on the crosses are obviously of late origin. The Church did not permit them till a much later date, and they would never

[1] From time immemorial the Egyptian craftsmen were accustomed to the artistic use of plaster and stucco, and no artisans of the olden time could more easily quarry, saw, carve, and polish the largest and hardest blocks of stone than those sculptors who probably worked in or near the quarries of Gebel Ahmar, Cairo, Helwan, Aswan, Khankah, and Tell el Amarna.

Fig. 1. (No. xx.)

Fig. 2. (No. xxii.)

Fig. 3. (No. xxii.)

Heads of Northumbrian Crosses in Chapter House, Durham.

To face page 152.

have been inscribed on seventh-century crosses.[1] Had such crosses existed in the seventh century, the Danes and other pagans would certainly have broken them. The language recorded in runes bears a tenth-century character, and the runes as well are of a late type. The high-cross is not known earlier than the beginning of the tenth century: the perforated wheel-head is a little later in appearing. Further, if these memorials at Bewcastle and Ruthwell, as well as the poem, *The Dream of the Rood*, had their origin in the same epoch, or even at different times, which were not far removed from each other, then the poetic and spiritual conceptions expressed in *The Dream* were not in currency in the English Church till long after the seventh century.

The greatest events in the early history of the Anglo-Saxon race took place in the tenth century. In that epoch the most powerful forces were King Æthelstan and St Dunstan, who assisted in creating a national England and in laying the foundations of memorable peace. Then also existed native scholars, artists, and travellers capable of designing and executing both monuments, and none more capable than St Dunstan himself (919–988). He flourished in that stirring age when kings and folk united to venerate their patron saint, Cuthbert. He, they believed, had blessed their victorious English arms and saved them from what the Irish chronicler declared was "inferior only to the captivity of hell," namely, the pagan scourge. Sufficient, then, was St Dunstan's marvellous influence upon the English monarchs to inspire them to have these two Christian symbols of love, mercy, and goodwill erected in the middle of the tenth century within the pacified Border-land, and on spots where St Cuthbert's name was held dear. Nor had that influence abated when King Cnut, on bare feet, approached the sepulchre of St Cuthbert.[2]

[1] One of the earliest examples of the illustration of the Baptist in the act of carrying the *Agnus Dei* is that carved on a panel of the ivory throne of Archbishop Maximian, now preserved in the Cathedral of Ravenna. Its origin is usually assigned to the sixth century. Goetz, however, considers it to be an Oriental work of the eleventh century and having no connection with Maximian.—Goetz, *Ravenna*, 95, illust. 116, 117. Ricci also repeats the statement of Giovanni Diacono that the Doge Pietro II. Orseolo in December 1001 sent the ivory chair to the Emperor Otto III. The symbol, in a form similar to that seen on Ruthwell Cross, may thus be referred to the tenth century.—Ricci, *Ravenna*, 37, illust. 116.

[2] Symeon, i. 232.

CHAPTER IX

A.—"THE DREAM OF THE ROOD"

Text

Hwæt, ic swefna cyst secgan wylle,
ðæt me gemætte tó midre nihte,
syððan reordberend reste wunedon.
Þúhte me ðæt ic gesawe syllícre treów
on lyft lædan leóhte bewunden,
beáma beorhtost. Eall ðæt beácen wæs
begoten mid golde ; gimmas stódon
fægere (*feowere*) æt foldan sceátum, swylce ðær fífe wæron
uppe on ðám eaxlegespanne. Beheóldon ðær engel dryhtnes ealle
fægere þurh forðgesceaft. Ne wæs ðær huru fracoðes gealga,
ac hine ðær beheóldon hálige gástas,
men ofer moldan, and eall ðeós mære gesceaft.

Syllíc wæs se sigebeám, and ic synnum fáh,
forwundod mid wommum. Geseah ic wuldres treów
wædum geweorðode wynnum scínan,
gegyred mid golde ; gimmas hæfdon
bewrigen weorðlíce wealdendes treów.
Hwæðre ic þurh ðæt gold ongytan meahte
earmra ærgewin, ðæt hit ærest ongan
swætan on ða swíðran healfe. Eall ic wæs mid sorgum gedréfed,
forht ic wæs for ðære fægran gesýhðe ; geseah ic ðæt fúse beácen
wendan wædum and bleóm ; hwílum hit wæs mid wætan bestémed,
beswýled mid swátes gánge ; hwílum mid since gegyrwed.

Hwæðre ic ðær licgende lange hwíle

B.—"THE DREAM OF THE ROOD"

A Metrical Translation [1]

Behold! I will of choicest dream now tell;
At turn of night it thus to me befell,
When men, endowed with speech, with reason blest,
Had won repose, and slumbered deep in rest.

Methought I saw a wondrous tree on high,
Begirt with light and moving through the sky:
It was The Cross Itself, effulgent, bright,
And ever glowing as a beacon-light.

That beacon-ensign was with gold o'erspread,
And lovely gems stood out from foot to head.
Near earth were four: and five, within my dream,
Appeared to glitter on the bright cross-beam.

The Lord's own angels, by creation fair,
A heavenly host, in bliss, stood gazing there,
With holy souls, grand world, and men of mould,
The very Cross—no gibbet—to behold.

A marvel was the Victor's Cross to me—
Sin-stained, sore wounded by iniquity:
As gold and gems befit a cross divine,
With joys invested there this tree did shine.

Yet through that gold I might have well descried
What caused the blood to flow from His strong side
—That horrid strife of ill that erst began
Between a loving God and wicked man.

[1] This translation, by the author, appeared in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier and Herald*, 2nd and 9th December 1911.

beheóld hreówcearig Hælendes treów,
oððæt ic gehýrde ðæt hit hleoðrode.
Ongan ða word sprecan wudu selesta :
" Ðæt wæs geara iú, ic ðét gyta geman,
ðæt ic wæs áheáwen holtes on ende,
ástyred of swefne (*stefne*) mínum : genaman me ðér strange feóndas,
geworhton him ðær tó wæfersýne, héton me heora wergas hebban :
béron me ðér beornas on eaxlum, oððæt hie me on beorg ásetton :
gefæstnodon me ðér feóndas genoge. Geseah ic ðá freán mancynnes
éfstan elne mycle, ðæt he me wolde ongestígan.
Ðær ic ðá ne dorste ofer Dryhtnes word
búgan oððe berstan, ðá ic bifian geseah
eorðan sceátas : ealle ic mihte
feóndas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stód.
* Ongyrede hine ðá geóng Hæleð—ðæt wæs God ælmihtig—
strang and stíðmód ; gestáh he on gealgan heánne
módig on manigra gesýhðe, ðá he wólde mancyn lýsan.
Bifode ic ðá me se Beorn ymbclypte ; ne dorste ic hwæðre búgan tó eorðan,
feallan tó foldan sceátum, ac ic sceólde fæste standan.
Ród wæs ic áræred, * áhof ic rícne Cyning,
heofona Hláford ; hyldan me ne dorste.
Þurhdrifan hi me mid deorcan næglum, on me syndon ða dolg gesíene,
opene inwidhlemmas ; ne dorste ic hira ænigum sceððan.
Bysmeredon hie unc butu ætgædere. Eall ic wæs mid blóde bestemed,
begoten of ðæs Guman sídan, siððan he hæfde his gást onsended.
Feala ic on ðam beorge gebiden hæbbe
wráðra wyrda. Geseah ic weruda God
þearle þenian : þýstro hæfdon
bewrigen mid wolcnum Wealdendes hræw,
scírne sciman ; sceadu forðeóde,
wann under wolcnum. Weóp eal gesceaft,
cwíðdon Cynninges fyll : * Crist wæs on róde.
Hwæðere þǽr fúse feorran cwoman

* The asterisks indicate the stanzas inscribed on Ruthwell Cross.

I was with tribulation sore distrest,
And stricken with the vision in my breast ;
The moving Emblem which was then in view
Began to change investiture and hue ;
Where treasures had adorned it all before
Like dew gems, flowed a staining stream of gore.

For long I lay in grief beholding there
The Tree which once did my Redeemer bear,
Until I heard Him speak, as this choice beam
Gave utterance thus to these words of my dream :

" Long, long ago, I can it yet recall,
By green-wood end, hewn down, and made to fall,
My trunk lopped off, of me stark foes took hold
To make a showy cross for felons bold,
And on their shoulders bore me to a height
Whereon some fiends enow affixed me tight.

" I saw the Lord of men as He did tend
With zeal and haste upon me to ascend :
Afraid to break God's law, to break myself, or bow,
I shudder'd at the sight of earth ; for now
I wished I had His might, as then I would
Have beaten down His foes : yet fast I stood.

* " The Hero young—He was Almighty God
—Disrobed, yet strong, unflinchingly He trod,
And mounted boldly to the lofty tree,
When He mankind would save, while many see.

" I quivered when the Brave One clasped me round ;
I fain had stooped, but dared not touch the ground ;
I dared not even touch creation's face ;
Stand firm I must for that divine embrace.

* " A Rood I was set up ; aloft I bore
The mighty King, the heavenly Lord ; yet more
Below I dared not bow myself to view,
For with black nails they pierced me through and through.

* The asterisks indicate the stanzas inscribed upon Ruthwell Cross.

tó ðám Æðelinge : ic ðæt eall beheóld.
Sáre ic wæs mid (*sorgum*) gedréfed, hnág ic hwæðre ðám secgum tó handa
eáðmod elne mycle. Genamon hie ðær ælmihtigne God,
áhofon hine of ðám hefian wíte ; forleton me ðá hilderincas
standan steáme bedrifenne, eall ic wæs *mid strælum forwundod.
Áledon hie ðær limwérigne, gestódon him æt his líces heáfdum,
beheóldon hie ðær heofenes Dryhten, and he hine ðær hwíle reste,
méðe æfter ðám miclan gewinne. Ongunnon him ða moldern wyrcan
beornas on banan (*banena*) gesýhðe, curfon hie ðæt of beorhtan stáne ;
gesetton hie ðæron sigora Wealdend. Ongunnon him ðá sorhleoð galan
earme on ða æfentíde, ðá hie wóldon eftsíðian,
méðe fram ðám mæran þeódne ; reste he ðær mæte weorode.

Hwæðere we ðær geótende góde hwíle
stódon on staðole, siððan (*stefn*) up gewát
hilderinca : hráw cólode,
fæger feorgbold. Ðá ús man fyllan ongan
ealle tó eorðan—ðæt wæs egeslic wyrd.
Bedealf ús man on deópan seaðe.

Hwæðre me ðær Dryhtnes þegnas,
freóndas gefrunon * * * *
gyredon me golde and seolfre.

Nú ðú miht gehýran, hæleð mín se leófa,
ðæt ic bealuwa weorc gebiden hæbbe,
sárra sorga : is nú sæl cumen
ðæt me weorðiað wíde and síde
menn ofer moldan, and eall ðeós mære gesceaft,
gebiddað him tó ðysum beácne. On me Bearn Godes
þrówode hwhíle, forþan ic þrymfæst nú
hlifige under heofenum, and ic hælan mæg
æghwylcne ánra ðára ðe him bið egesa tó me.

Iu ic wæs geworden wíta heardost,
leódum láðost, ærðan ic him lifes weg
rihtne gerýmde, reordberendum.

"Upon me mark those gaping wounds, ill set
By those from whom I could no redress get!
They mock'd us twain: me too all streamed with blood
From this Man's side, whose soul fled in that flood.

"Oh, evils many bore I on the hill;
I saw the Lord of Hosts rack'd out, until
The clouds in gloom descended black as night
To shroud the Lord's own corse still shining bright.

*"As dark clouds fell, the whole world wept and stood
By its dead King, for Christ was on the Rood.
Yet ardent souls came running far to aid
Their noble Lord: such sight can never fade.

"While I was much aggrieved, I humbly then,
Yet boldly, bow'd within the hands of men,
Who there and then had seized The Almighty Good,
And loosed Him from this torture sharp and rude.

*"The war-men let me stand bedewed in gore,
With arrows wounded everywhere and sore;
They Him, limb-wearied, lowly laid, as dead:
The face they stood to watch was Heav'n's own Head.

"Awhile the weary Lord, His great strife o'er,
Did rest Him there, while hewers, now before
His slayers' eyes, a white tomb carv'd in stone,
Wherein they laid the Victor-Lord alone.

"At even-tide began weird dirge and song;
Beside the mighty God few lingered long;
Worn by the wake, most took their homeward way,
Till at the Cross a small crowd sleeping lay.

"However we [1] all dripping still stood on
Our base, till din of warrior long had gone.
The Corpse—that lovely shrine of soul—was chill,
When now befell our dreadful fate and ill.

[1] *I.e.* the three crosses on Calvary.

Hwæt, me ðá geweorðode wuldres Ealdor
ofer holtwudu, heofonríces Weard,
swylce swá he his modor eác Marian sylfe,
ælmihtig God, for ealle menn
geweorðode ofer eall wífa cynn.

Nú ic ðe háte, hæleð mín se leofa,
ðæt ðú ðás gesýhðe secge mannum :
onwreoh wordum ðæt hit is wuldres beám
se ðe ælmihtig God on þrówode
for mancynnes manegum synnum
and Adames ealdgewyrhtum.

Deáð he ðær byrigde ; hwæðere eft dryhten árás
mid his miclan mihte mannum tó helpe.
He ðá on heofenas ástág ; hider eft fundað
on ðysne middangeard mancyn sécan,
on dómdæge, Dryhten sylfa,
ælmihtig God and his englas mid,
ðæt he ðonne wile déman, se áh dómes geweald,
ánra gehwylcum, swá he him ærur her
on ðyssum lænum life geearnað.
Ne mæg ðær ænig unforht wesan
for ðám worde ðe se Wealdend cwyð :
frineð he for ðære mænige hwær se man sie,
seðe for Dryhtnes naman deáðes wólde
biteres onbyrigan, swá he ær on ðám beáme dyde.
Ac hie ðonne forhtiað, and fea þencað
hwæt hie tó Criste cweðan onginnen.
Ne þearf ðær ðonne ænig anforht wesan
ðe him ær in breóstum bereð beácna selest,
ac ðurh ða róde sceal ríce gesécan,
of eorðwege, æghwylc sawl
seó ðe mid Wealdende wunian þenceð."

Gebæd ic me ðá tó ðám beáme blíðe móde

"To fell us to the earth men next began,
And buried us in deepest hole they can;
But friends of God soon finding me in mould
Lifted and decked with silver and with gold.

"What pains of wicked men, O Hero dear;
What awful woes I bore, deign Thou to hear!
Now comes the time when all men worship me,
Creation all prays at the symbolic Tree.

"Awhile on me God's Son did suffer pain,
Hence glorified I mount the sky again;
To save all souls I am endowed with grace,
Should any look with fear upon my face.

"Aforetime I was oft tormented sore
By hateful wicked folks, for long before
I had prepared the True and Living Way
For all the speech-endowed who spring from clay.

"The Prince of Glory, Warden of the sky,
Adorned me on the wood set up on high,
As God, His mother, Mary, for all we find
Has honour'd o'er all other woman kind."

I pray, now, let me, O Thou Hero mine!
Relate to men this beauteous dream divine,
Tell how God suffer'd on this Glory-Tree
For Adam's deed of old, man's sins, and me.

The Lord then tasted death: He rose again
With His great mightiness to succour men;
Ascended into heaven, He'll wend His way
To earth, to judge mankind on dread Dooms-day.

Almighty God, with angels near, must needs
Judge fleeting lives according to their deeds.
Nor should men fear to stand before the Lord,
While He inquiring speaks this searching word:—

elne mycle, ðær ic ána wæs
mæte werede ; wæs módsefa
afýsed on forðwege : feala ealra gebád
langunghwíla. Is me nú lifes hyht
ðæt ic ðone sigebeám sécan móte
ána oftor ðonne ealle men,
well weorðian : me is willa tó ðám,
mycel on móde, and min mundbyrd is
geriht tó ðære róde. Náh ic rícra feala
freónda on foldan, ac hie forð heonon
gewiton of worulde dreámum, sóhton him wuldres Cyning,
lifiað nú on heofenum, mid Heáhfædere,
wuniað on wuldre. And ic wéne me
daga gehwylce hwænne me Dryhtnes ród,
ðe ic her on eorðan ær sceawode,
of ðysson lænan life gefetige,
and me ðonne gebringe ðær is blis mycel,
dreám on heofonum, ðær is dryhtnes folc
geseted tó symle, ðær is singal blis ;
and me ðonne ásette ðær ic syððan mót
wunian on wuldre, well mid ðám hálgum
dreámes brúcan.

Si me Dryhten freónd
se ðe on eorðan ær þrówode
on ðám gealgtreówe, for gumena synnum.
He ús onlýsde and ús lif forgeaf,
heofonlicne hám. Hiht wæs geniwad,
mid blédum and mid blisse, ðám ðe ðær bryne þólodan.
Se Sunu wæs sigorfæst on ðám siðfate,
mihtig and spédig, ðá he mid mænigeo com,
gásta weorode, on Godes ríce,
Anwealda ælmihtig,—englum tó blisse,
and eallum ðám hálgum ðám ðe on heofonum ær
wunedon on wuldre, ðá heora Wealdend cwom,
ælmihtig God, ðær his éðel wæs.

"Where is there one who draweth human breath,
Who for his God will suffer bitter death
As He Who formerly on this beam died?"
Afraid of Christ, that host no word replied.

Nor should there be a fear in any breast
That bears the Cross—of emblems far the best—
To earthly souls who wish to win the Lord
The Cross will entry to God's realm afford.

I prayed the Cross with ardent happy heart,
My weary soul was yearning to depart,
The Cross is now my life's hope, and far more
Than other men I'll seek it and adore.

Now yearn I for This One of mighty mood,
Since my protection centres in the Rood.
Below I scarce possess one stalwart friend.
Agone, their souls the joys of earth forfend.
They've sought their sovereign Lord and God on high,
Who dwells with God the Father in the sky.

And as on earth I did my Monarch see
Upon His Cross, I pray, when I am free
From fleeting life, fetch me to joy, and bless
Me feasting with God's folk in holiness;
And set me down in glory where I might
With saintly souls experience delight.

Befriend me, Lord! O Thou who on the Cross
Didst suffer for man's sins, and saved from loss
Our life, our heavenly home, our hope: for this
Restored to fire-burnt suff'rers gives them bliss.

The mighty Ruler of the World—God's Son,
The Conqueror—who had His journey done,
Accompanied with hosts of Spirits fair,
Appeared in God's supernal Kingdom there
The angels and the holy ones to bless,
Who dwelt in glorious happiness.
While in their midst the Lord of Hosts then trod,
Almighty, and made there the Home of God.

APPENDIX I

Ruthwell

The place-name Ruthwell has much exercised Professor Cook, who, in order to show "the possible influence of Clairvaux" upon South-Western Scotland, traces the settlement of a colony of monks from Clairvaux in Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, in 1131.[1] He continues: "From Rievaulx directly came not only Melrose (*i.e.* Abbey, 1136) but Dundrennan (1142), while the Church of Ruthwell seems to have been named from the same Yorkshire abbey, as that, in turn, modelled its name upon Clairvaux. . . . The link between Rievaulx and Ruthwell is to be found in the person of Robert de Bruce II. (1078–1141)," to whom King David I. granted Annandale. But, as Dr Neilson long ago pointed out, no cathedral or monastery was erected in Annandale by the Bruce family, whose benefactions all went to Guisborough. Professor Cook correctly gives the local pronunciation of the name as *Rivvel*, and also illustrates many early forms of the name, *e.g.* *Rovel* (1275 ?), *Ryvel* (1329 ?), *Ryvel* (1438), *Ryvale* (1441), *Revel* (1529), *Ruvell* (1546), *Revel* (1690), *Rothwald* (Nicolson, 1690), *St Ruel* (1697), *Ruthvel* (1726), *Ruthwell* (*Revel*, 1755), *Ruthwald*, *Ruthwell* (1824).

In 1509, however, when James IV. created for John Murray of Cokpule a burgh of barony there, it is designated "Rubaletenemēt" and "Ruvale"; [2] and later, in 1672, *Ruthvell*.[3] A modern association of the name with the Rood-well (*i.e.* now *The Broo* or *Brow Well*), the cross-well,[4] is thus criticised by Professor Cook: "The baselessness of this surmise may be seen if we recall that the old English *rōd*, cross, must always have retained the *d*, evolving into modern English *rood* or *rod*." This rule does not hold good for Ayrshire, where the rustics pronounce *Cáldwell* as "Carwéll" or "C'rwéll";

[1] *The Date*, 344–354 (132–142).

[2] *Act. Parl. Scot.* (Thomson), ii. 275: 1509, c. 7.

[3] *Ibid.*, viii. 77: 1672, c. 35. In "Rubaletenemēt" the "b" is evidently a misreading for "v."

[4] Bishop Browne, *Theodore and Wilfrith*, 236: "They put a shed over it (*the cross*), and the place became known as Rood-well."

while the genuine countryman by Nithside goes down the *rŏd* with his *rō(a)d* to fish; and on his rŏd he may be a little hŏrse when he meets a hōrse. The *doyen* of the teachers of the county of Dumfries did not eradicate this local distinction after half a century of correction of this interchanged vocalic note in Nithsdale.

If we seek analogies, we find that Rothwell at Leeds and Rothwell at Kettering are written *Rodewelle* in Domesday Book: Rothewell at Caistor (Lincs.) appears as *Rodowelle* in the same work. That at Kettering is written *Rothewelle* in the Pipe Roll of 1360, and is now pronounced *Rówell*. Thus the simplest interpretation has a precedent. On the other hand, while parishes adjacent or near to Ruthwell are locally termed *Moosel* (Muswald, Mouswald), *Torthorel* (Torthorwald), *Tinnel* (Tinwald: *Thing Vellr* ?), *Garrel* (Garvald), which evidently are words descriptive of features in the *veald*, *wald*, or forest in which these sites were located, and of which there are plentiful remains preserved in local mosses, one cannot always be certain that this termination *-el* is derived from *veald*. Kinnell, in Linlithgowshire, was in the British tongue *Penfahel*—a translation of *Caput Valli*, "the head of the (Roman) wall."

Assuming, however, the early existence of the termination *-wald* (as it is still written by local sign-writers—*Ruthwald*), the student will find indisputable evidences of the inclusion of Ruthwell in the great *Coet Celyddon*, Wood of Caledonia, if nowhere else, in the numerous Norse place-names ending in *-thwaite* (a clearing) or *riddings*. Near to Ruthwell Church the Thwaite Burn flows, and close at hand is Aiket farm, formerly *Aikwood*, *i.e.* Oak-wood. In the parish also survives a patch of very hoary, venerable pines, of nature's planting (*Pinus sylvestris*). When in the setting sun these red-barked stems and branches were flushed with bars of glowing crimson the forest became a red wood (*roth-wald*), no less magical than in autumn, when their companion oaks lent their ruddy foliage to complete the charm of the scene, a veritable *Rutland*, where Apollo was worshipped.

Hence a derivation from the primitive word signifying *red* is preferable, since it was easily transferable to many tongues: O.E., *réad*; O.S., *rôd*; O.H.G. and M.H.G., *rōt*; Mod. Ger., *roth*, *rōt*; Old Teut., *rauthoz*; pre-Teut., *roudhos*, *reudh*; L., *ruber*; G., *ἐρυθρός*, *eruthros*; Old Irish and Gaelic, *ruad(h)*. Other derivations are not so satisfactory, such as *Rod-wald*, signifying wood-wood, like *Shaw-wood* (a reduplication of the same idea, as we have *Dun-burg*, *Doone Castle*), in connection with O.E., *rod*, branch, rod, then

rood; O.H.G., *rouda*, *ruada*, *ruota*; M.H.G., *ruote*, *rûte*; Ger., *ruthe*, *rute*. Significantly enough, at the head of the main slope which forms the parish of Ruthwell there is a plantation called "Shawwood." Nor is *Raewald*, the roe-wood (*ráha*, *rhoo*) any more acceptable, even although Rae-hills, is but a short distance from Ruthwell. The discovery of two place-names, "Cruce signari ad Rune Pictorum" and "Runetwethel," in Morayshire, in a thirteenth-century charter, throws no light on the meaning of Ruthwell (*Regist. Episc. Morav.*, 456; cited by Wilson, *Prehist. Ann.*, 534).

Bewcastle

Following other writers, Professor Cook asserts that "the fact that Gilles, son of Boed, or Bueth, from whom Bewcastle derives its name, appears among witnesses to David's Inquest of 1120 or 1121, leads one to suppose that this region at least was under his jurisdiction, though so clearly, according to our notions, on the English side of the Border." [1] There is no warrant for the assumption that Bueth gave his name to this castle. Professor Cook gives the old names for this strength: *Buthecaster* (1249), *Botecastre* (1291), *Bothecastre* (1299–1300), *Castle of Bothe* (1401), and *Bewecastle* (1488). Bewcastle is a great Roman camp whose name is now lost, the only trace of the name being left in the termination *caster*, *castre*, *castle*, used by the folk who ruled after the Romans to describe this old *castrum*. In the prefix one has an illustration of the practice of reduplication which successive races often use in the designation of important places taken by them. Thus *Dunbhuirg* in Lewis is the same as "*Dun-burg-a-dal castle*" or *fort*, a primitive place of *defence* in Bute, whereon victor and vanquished left their fourfold name. To the Anglo-Saxon still a *ceaster*, it became to the later marauders from over the North Seas a *bu*, dwelling, Dan. and Sw. *by*, Goth. *bo*, a *stadt* or fortified town; hence the Bu- or Bothe-caster. If it be necessary to select a warrior's name for the place, one might find it in that of Milidh Buu —the knight Buu, a terrible Danish admiral in the tenth century. The Isle of Bute was successively called *Bot*, *Botar*, *Buth*, *Both*, *Boet*, *Boid*, *Booth*, *Bit*, *Bute*; also in Gaelic Rothesay is termed *Bailea Mhoid* (pronounced *Voj*), the original form being probably *bot*, a beacon, plural *botar*. The beacon, *bot*, on the Saxon *burg* in the camp might account for the form *Bote-castre*. That *burh* or *burg* too must have had a name, and none more applicable than *Kuni-burg*, the war burgh, a name still carved upon the Cross at Bewcastle.

[1] *The Date*, 306 (94).

But the Bo- or Bu-ceaster of the Northmen had an easy transference into the Norman-French tongue, when it became a *beau chastel*, a fine castle, constructed, as Bewcastle now appears, in square-dressed masonry.

APPENDIX II

The Mysterious "Cynewulf"

As stated, in certain passages inscribed Runic characters upon Ruthwell Cross are identical with portions of an Anglo-Saxon poem, entitled *The Dream of the Rood*, which is included in the Codex Vercellensis preserved in the Cathedral Library at Vercelli, near Milan. This manuscript consists mainly of homilies and six poems, all in the Anglo-Saxon language, and is probably of late tenth-century date or later. These six poems are entitled *Andreas*, *Fates of the Apostles*, *Soul's Address to the Body*, *Dream of the Rood*, *On Psalm xxviii.*, and *Elene*. Three poems, viz. *Juliana*, *Fates of the Apostles*, *Elene*, indicate by Runic characters the name of their author, "Cynewulf," as discovered by J. M. Kemble in 1840. How the MS. reached Vercelli is a matter for conjecture; but it is suggestive that Sigeric, Archbishop of Canterbury, stayed in Vercelli in July 990, on his return from Rome after receiving the pall. This was but two years after the death of St Dunstan, his predecessor.

An almost contemporary MS. entitled the Exeter Book, also containing a treasury of Anglo-Saxon verse, has been preserved in Exeter Cathedral Library since 1071 at least, when it was catalogued thus: *I mycel Englisc bōc be gehwilcum þingum on lēoþwīsan geworht*, *i.e.* "A large English book on various subjects, written in verse." It contains similar poetry, and, among others, *Christ* (which alone bears the cryptic Runic letters "*Cynewulf*"), *Guthlac*, *Juliana*, *Phœnix*, *Wanderer*, *Seafarer*, *Harrowing of Hell*, and *Ruin*.

Kemble, Thorpe, Earle, and others have identified this mysterious poet, of whose life-story we have only reflections in his works, with Cenwulf of Winchester (963–1006). Dietrich, Grein, and Trautmann suggest the name of Cynewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne (740–783). Cook, supported by C. W. Kennedy, thinks that Cynulf, a priest who accompanied Tidfrith, bishop of Dunwich, to Clovesho in 803, is a possible author. In the absence of reliable

data, all is matter of conjecture. A much later Cynulf attested a charter (925–941) preserved in Winchester College (Birch, ii. 326), and among other witnesses were Heorstan, father of Dunstan, and Cadmon. In the *Riddles*, also attributed to "Cynewulf," the cryptic signature "Wulf" appears.

It is generally admitted that "Cynewulf" was a great early English poet with a theological training, a novel and bold thinker, acquainted with patristic writings, conversant with books in use in the Church, a keen observer of nature, a describer of seascapes particularly, and, unlike other authors then, a revealer of his consciousness and personality in his writings. These characteristics admirably describe St Dunstan (919–988). Was he "Cynulf"?

The internal evidence that St Dunstan wrote the "Cynewulfian Poems" is very striking. On the one hand we have the biographies of the saint, overdrawn no doubt, by contemporaries and later writers (*cf.* Stubbs's edition of the *Vita*), and we have reminiscent passages in the lays of "Cynewulf." For example, "Cynewulf," in his *Elene* (Kennedy's translation, 126), alludes to a crisis in early life, when, "shackled with sin," he obtained grace, found the Cross and unriddled its marvels, studied and wrote Christian books, learned song-craft, when old and frail composed the *Elene*, and to many other intimate revelations. This is a mirror in which to distinguish Dunstan, a favourite saint of Anglo-Saxon England. Yet none of his writings, charters excepted, can be identified. Many passages in the *Elene* allude to incidents in Dunstan's life. In the *Juliana*—and an early panegyrist compared Dunstan with Juliana—a reference is made to a time "when the two brothers shall dissolve their kinship—their great love," which may allude to King Eadmund (946) and his brother Eadred (955), or to Wulfric, who died before Dunstan. The coincidences in the Lives and Lays are too many and close to be merely fortuitous. Critics also would attribute the second part of *Guthlac* to "Cynewulf." It is probable. And Dunstan was interested in this confessor and attested a charter in favour of Croyland Abbey in 948, in which the "relics of Saint Guthlac" are mentioned. The *Andreas* is attributed to "Cynewulf"; St Andrew was the patron saint of Dunstan. The fine passages in *Andreas* and other lays are quite in keeping with the experience of a youth brought up in sight of the Bristol Channel and its fleets. The battle-song of Brunanburh, which Dunstan was old enough to have written from personal experience of the victory, contains ideas, such as "the swart raven," "the eagle white behind," "the greedy

war hawk," " the wolf in the weald," " the ring-giving lord of men," and the " fallow flood," which are also found in the *Elene*. St Dunstan was a great advocate of peace. His episcopal seal shows him holding a book inscribed " Pax Vobis." The Cross at Ruthwell is a memorial of peace. On it are inscribed the words, " In principio erat verbum," etc. These are the words which St Dunstan in a vision saw on the sword of St Peter, which King Eadred interpreted to mean that the dreamer would become the Archbishop of Canterbury.

But striking as these coincidences are, they are not so arresting as the identical ideas found respectively in the Life and in the Lays, and also set forth in harmonious ideography on the Ruthwell Cross. In fine, song-craft, palace life, study of the sacred and secular, travels, exile, tears, ideals, fights with fiends, passion for immortality, visions of the Cross, alike distinguish the biographies of the theologian and the cryptic reminiscences of the poet. The priest was no ignorant man of the world; his *alter ego*, the poet, was no mean theologian, but a man of light and leading. The genius of both is indebted to classical models. Many coincidences go to show that at the foot of the Cross the trilingual Dunstan was the cryptic " Cynewulf."

APPENDIX III

Anglian and Anglo-Danish Sculpture

Mr W. G. Collingwood, Lanehead, Coniston, with very great courtesy, for which I proffer to him my best thanks, sent to me for perusal and assistance a lecture on " Early Sculptured Monuments of Yorkshire," delivered by him in York Museum in November 1913; also a paper read at Bewcastle, and reported in the *Carlisle Journal* in 1904. In the latter paper Mr Collingwood said the Bewcastle " Cross would have been about 21 feet high from the base of the pedestal." He concluded that " it is impossible to believe that the North Cumberland people of the tenth century, as we know them, carved this cross."

In the lecture above alluded to, and which, when published, must be referred to for its own specific terms, Mr Collingwood essays to prove that there is " a distinct series of development from the severer and naturalistic

scrolls, through more conventionalised scrolls of the ninth century, to the Danish and Norse work in which the latter have turned into dragon-plaits (tenth century); and the series hangs together perfectly." He thinks the two classes of design of crosses—Anglian and Scandinavian—are evidently distinct.

Some of Mr Collingwood's most important conclusions follow :—" We have no Yorkshire crosses which I feel able to date older than about 700, while some of those to the north of the Tees may be older." The Danes soon copied Christian monuments by Anglian artists, and by the ninth and tenth centuries they had their own craftsmen. " The Danes were not stone-carvers at home, any more than the first Anglian immigrants had been." " The Danes and Scandinavians seem never to have cared for flowers and leaves as ornaments." " Figure drawing had become very poor in the hands of the later English : the Danes attempted nothing but the rudest and most grotesque figures." Mr Collingwood fully illustrates his thesis that " Anglian art existed in Yorkshire from 700 to 900, followed by Anglo-Danish art, which merged into Norman after the ravaging of 1070." The illustrative examples are divided into five groups : A, group outside Yorkshire ; B, group showing development of scrollwork ; C, group showing bird and beast scrolls ; D, late Anglian sculpture, preceding Danish style, but executed under Danish rule ; E, Anglo-Danish series.

A. " The difficulties of the material account for a certain want of grace and finish " on St Cuthbert's coffin. " Severity suggests early date " for Spital Cross, Hexham ; but on Acca's Cross is seen " a development of style which involves one or two generations since the carving of the Spital shaft." Irton is a " perfect Anglian cross," though late (ninth century).

B. This group is illustrated by Ormside Cup, reckoned an early work, sculptures at Northallerton, Hornby, Lonsdale, Collingham, all of the eighth century, and at Dewsbury, St Mary-Bishophill, of the ninth century.

C. Bird and beast scrolls are illustrated on Ormside Cup, early, and Hackness, early ; Aldborough, Cundall, Masham, Ilkley, Otley—" one of the finest " . . . with " well-designed figures of evangelists "—all of the eighth century ; Collingham, Ilkley, and Leeds (900), ninth century.

D. Late Anglian work is found at St Mary-Bishophill, Urswick, Lancaster, ninth century and later.

E. Mr Collingwood, in illustrating the Anglo-Danish series, contrasts the fine eighth-century work of Easby with the grotesquely carved Scandinavian

dragonesque work found at Ellerburn, "and the wheel-head which came into vogue with the tenth century. We never see a wheel-head on an Anglian shaft." He refers to Urswick in Furness (wheel-head), Stonegrave (wheel), Lancaster, all of the tenth century; Nunburnholme, eleventh century; and of Gosforth (perforated wheel-head) he writes: "Few, if any, could have been quite so elegant as this famous monument, which I date about 1000."

Mr Collingwood, when dealing with 280 known fragments of "Anglian and Anglo-Danish sculpture in the North Riding of Yorkshire," [1] places in Class A1 (work of 700 A.D. and the generation following) the finer Anglian work of the simpler forms and earlier types. Among them are Croft (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, p. 306), which shows elegant interlacing, floral scrolls, and intertwined scrolls with birds, beasts, and dragons; Hackness (*a*, *b*, *c*, 329), finely designed scrollwork; Northallerton (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, 372), beautifully executed cross-heads with interlacing, scrolls, geometric patterns; Wensley (*a*, 408), cross with dragons; Wensley (*b*), cross with name "Eadberehct" (740 ?). Other fine work he tabulates under Class A2 (750–800): Lastingham (*a*); Masham (*a*, *b*, *c*); Easby, which shows splendid work, especially *e*; Wensley (*c*, *d*, *e*); Hovingham, with fine human and angelic figures and floral scroll with birds and animals; Melsonby (*a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*), etc. But no stone of Class A1 exhibits figure carving; while Masham great pillar (like Hovingham), which bears many fairly carved human, angelic, and animal figures, is referred to Class A2 (750–780).

Mr Collingwood illustrates eighteen fragments of crosses of the wheel-head type found in the North Riding (273), of which nine have the disc not pierced, and nine the disc pierced. Three of each class have figures of The Crucified. But with the exception of Finghall (*c.* 321), which is referred to Class A3 (*i.e.* Anglian work in decline, or in ruder hands, but not yet showing Danish influence, of ninth century), all the others are referred to the Danish period, and the majority of them to Anglo-Danish work. Of them Mr Collingwood writes (280): "Crucifixes are shown in various degrees of rudeness at Finghall, Great Ayton, Kirkdale, Kirklevington (two), North Otterington, Sinnington, Stanwick, Thornton Steward (two)." If the attempt to carve the crucifix has resulted in rudeness generally, so, in all cases, the sculptors of the whole Northumbrian series have failed to produce any specimen of their work displaying the human form which could with fairness be compared with the finished sculpture on the Runic Roods of Ruthwell and Bewcastle.

[1] *York. Arch. Journ.*, xix. 267–413.

Of various crosses within the diocese of Carlisle, described and illustrated by Calverley and Collingwood, sixteen or thereby have heads of the Latin type in the Northumbrian pattern; sixteen have perforated wheel-heads; seven have solid wheel-heads; one has a finial after the *cumdach*, or relic case, type. No Greek cross is exhibited, except when incised on a Latin cross. In the Durham Collection, described and illustrated by Canon Greenwell, four solid wheel-heads are described, fourteen Latin cross-heads of the Northumbrian type are figured, and a similar Latin cross is inscribed on wood found in St Cuthbert's grave. Two crosses have finials which are not of a cross type. In the Cumberland series there is no representation of the Crucifixion. The Crucifixion scene on the Gosforth Cross is associated with the story of "spear-wounded Odin," or with Baldr the Beautiful. The subject, however, may be an example of syncretism. In the Durham Collection there are five examples of the Crucifixion, three rude works from Durham itself (XXI. B, XXII. C, XXIII. D), one from Brompton (Yorks., LIV.), also primitive and inartistic, and one from Billingham (XXIX. B), which has a rude suggestion of a Crucifixion. According to Greenwell, "Billingham was given by Ecgred, Bishop of Lindisfarne (830–845), who had founded it, to Saint Cuthbert."

Mr A. L. Davidson, teacher, Ruthwell, who, as Clerk to the Heritors, had much to do, along with the Rev. Mr M'Farlan, in the re-erection and preservation of the Cross within the Parish Church, delivered a lecture to the Dumfriesshire and Galloway N.H. and Antiquarian Society on 29th April 1900. It was entitled, "The Artists of the Ruthwell Cross." Unfortunately, it was not published in the *Transactions*. In an informative manner Mr Davidson arranged many important facts which pointed to the possibility that Lombard artisans—"members of the Hexham Lodge of Comacini"—might have been engaged as artists, who, as far as skill was concerned, were capable of the work of rearing Ruthwell Cross. That Italian craftsmen, however, produced such beautiful work, exhibiting obviously late ideography, in the seventh century, is not at all probable or possible. The influence of the Lombard artists is not to be overlooked, however, in the study of Northumbrian sculpture. (Cf. *antea*, 84, 129.)

The drawing of the Ruthwell Cross by Cardonnel is now more interesting on account of the fact noted by Captain Riddell of Glenriddell (the friend of Robert Burns) in his copy of Sinclair's *Statistical Account* (now in the possession of Dr David Murray, Glasgow), to this effect:—

P. 96.—"In 1788 I carried Mr De Cardonnel to Ruthwell, and procuring a number of assistants had all the fragments of this celebrated monument collected, which he drew in a very masterly and accurate manner, and his drawing was engraved by the Antiquarian Society of London, and is published in their *Vetusta Monumenta*, vol. 2nd, 1789; so this very curious antiquity is now preserved to the Learned to examine.—G."

P. 115.—"In 1793 I presented a folio MS. volume entitled *The Antiquities and Topography of Nithsdale* to the Antiquarian Society of London. In it are above 60 drawings, etc., etc., by Grose and others. A valuable present."

It would add further interest if one could number Robert Burns among the "assistants." In Riddell's home Burns probably began his acquaintance with Cardonnel, to whom in 1789 he sent his humorous poem on Captain Grose, the antiquary.

APPENDIX IV

Weight of the Monuments

Various weights have been assigned to the two monuments. The Langbar stone weighs about 1 ton to 14 cubic feet. The solid contents of the Bewcastle Cross amount to about 32½ cubic feet, making the weight about 2 tons 8 cwt. The Crossgills stone, being denser and harder owing to the large proportion of quartz in its composition, weighs 1 ton to 13¾ cubic feet, so that the weight of Ruthwell Cross, including the transom, is about 3 tons 10 cwt.

INDEX

Acca, Cross of, 82, 135, 136. Pl. XXIX.
Ælfred, King, 105, 137, 143, 148, 149.
Æthelstan, King, 11, 83, 101, 108, 112, 137, 143, 144.
Æthelwold, 103 and n. 4, 138, 145.
Aft, æft, 70, 71.
Agnus Dei, 1, 3 n. 2, 36, 43, 110 n. 6, 115, 117.
Alcfrid, Alchfrid, Alcfrithu, 26, 65, 67, 68, 70, 71, 72, 73, 91, 147.
Alcuin, 92, 128, 134.
Aldfrith, 61, 70, 72, 73, 91.
Alexandria, Alexandrian, *cf.* Egypt.
Allen, J. Romilly, 27, 69, 80, 95, 113, 119.
Anderson, Dr Joseph, 20, 80, 99.
Annunciation, the, 31, 119.
Anointing the Lord's feet, 32, 114.
Anthony, St, 35, 90, 104, 123, 124.
Archer, *Sagittarius*, Eros, 33, 88, 105, 107, 109, 110.
Archibald, Dr George, 13.
Armstrong, Captain G., 24 n. 3.
Augustine, St, 91.

Baptist, the, St John, 36, 37, 43, 97, 114, 115, 116, 140. Pl. XXV.
Barbour, James, 30, 31 n. 2, 40.
Basil II., Emperor, 90, 113 n. 3, 117, 122.
Bayet, 98.
Bede, 70, 73, 109, 134, 147 n. 1.
Benedictine Order, 103 n. 4, 145, 150.
Bennu, 106 n. 6.
Bewcastle, Cross or Obelisk at, 10; tradition, 12; head of cross, 21; runes on, 21; Howard, Cotton, Camden, Spelman, Worm on, 21; lost head, 21 n. 2; Nicolson's description of, 22, 23; Smith's account, 23; article in *London Magazine*, 24; description by Nicolson and Burn, and by Hutchinson, 24; Howard's account, 25; Lysons' account, 25; Haigh's article, 26; Maughan's *Memoir*, 26; Vietor's readings, 27; descriptions by Calverley, Collingwood, Allen, Browne, etc., 27; casts made, 27 n. 8; description of, 40–47; panels, 41; huntsman and hawk, 41; Runic inscription, 42; Christ blessing, 42; St Cuthbert and St Oswald's head, 42; east face, 44; north face, 44; south face, 45; sandstone, 46; Langbar rock, 47; runes 50–52; runes on Obelisk, 62–71; early transcriptions, 62, 63; Kemble's opinion, 64; Maughan's readings, 65; Haigh's, 67; Vietor's, 69; table of readings, 69; Cyniburug, 70, 74; biographies of personages (Oswiu, Ealhfrith, etc.), 71–75; sculpture, 77–92; cross and crucifix in Northumbria, 93–101; date of cross, 96; date of crucifix, 97; symbols and doctrine, 93–126; the vine, 101; falconer and hawk, 102; the Christ, 111; St Cuthbert and St Oswald, 116; shoes, 120; the sun-dial, 124; Lethaby's view, 127; Prior and Gardner's view, 129; influence of Egypt, 130; Northumbrian sculpture not in same category, 135; date assignable to the monument, 139–153; opinions of various authorities, 139; reasons by author for assigning the monument to the seventh century, 140, 141; possible connection with St Dunstan and Wulfric, 144–149; recapitulation and conclusion, 151. Pls. IV., IX., XI., XII., XVII., XVIII., XIX., XX., XXI., XXIII., XXVI., XXVII., XXVIII.
Bewcastle, history of place-name, 166–167.
Bewcastle Parish Church, in Cumberland, 10; dedicated to St Cuthbert, 10; tradition, 12; visited by Nicolson, 22, 23, Smith, 23, Howard, 24, 25, Lysons, 25, Haigh and Maughan, 16, Vietor, 17; repair of church, 27; meaning of word Bewcastle, 166. Pls. IV., X., XXVIII.
Birds, 104.
Birrenswark, or Burnswark, 11, 142.
Biscop, Benedict, 134, 136.

Black, G. F., 19, 53.
Blume, Professor, 18.
Bona, Cardinal, 97.
Brandl, Alois, 58, 59.
British Museum, 84, 87, 110, 111 n. 1.
Brown, Professor Baldwin, 70 n. 3, 120 n. 6, 126, 139.
Browne, Bishop, 20, 27, 30, 43, 44, 45 n. 3, 54, 69, 77, 92 n. 3, 125, 139.
Brunanburh, 8, 11, 75, 142, 143, 148, 168.
Brussels, the reliquary, 103 n. 4.
Brydal, Robert, 7 n. 4.
Byzantine work, 81, 83, 128, 151.

Cadmo, Cadmon, Kadmon, Kedmon, *cf.* Cædmon.
Cædmon, 18, 19, 53, 54, 58, 59, 60, 61, 61 n. 2, 74, 103, 138, 147.
Callistus, 84, 110, 118, 129.
Calverley, Rev. W. S., 27, 43, 125.
Camden, *Britannia*, 15, 21, 22, 23, 41, 62. Pl. IX.
Cardonnel, Adam de, 16, 53, 173. Pl. VI.
Carlisle (Luguballium), 8, 11, 85.
Casts, 19 n. 5, 27 n. 8. Pl. XXI.
Celtic art, *cf.* Hibernian.
Celtic crosses in Bute, Pl. II.
Celtic illumination, 89 n. 2.
Chalmers, *Caledonia*, 18.
Champneys, A. C., 27, 93.
Charlemagne, 92, 99, 128.
Chequers, 77, 79.
Chi-Rho, 1, 2.
Christ, 31, 32, 35, 42, 87, 88, 98, 99, 111, 112, 113.
Christ healing the blind man, 32.
Cnut, King, 109.
Codex Exoniensis, 5–7, 167.
Codex Vercellensis, 18, 55, 57, 58, 167.
Coffey, George, 141 n. 1.
Collingwood, W. G., 27, 66, 125, 169. Pl. XII.
Columba, St., 6, 7; cross of, 94.
Comacini, 84, 129, 172.
Cone, 41.
Constantine, King, 83.
Conway, Sir Martin, 20, 96, 150.
Cook, Professor, 12, 20, 43, 53, 59, 61, 77, 96, 102, 103 n. 4, 120, 122, 123, 124, 130, 139, 146, 147, 150, 164, 166.
Coptic, *cf.* Egypt.
Cotton, Sir Robert, 21, 62. Pl. IX.
Craig, Rev. John, 16.
Cross, symbol of Christ and Christianity, 1; definition of cross, crosier, crucifix, 1; sign of, 2; pre-Christian sign, 2; Buddhist cross, cross of Constantine, 2; early crosses in Scotland, 3–9; in Syria, Whithorn, Brittany, 3; varieties of, 4; on British flag, 4 n. 2; wheel-head, 5; uses of crosses, 5; numbers in Scotland, 6; cruciform churches, 6; Black Rood or Queen Margaret's Cross, 6; processional, portable, 7; Fiery Cross, 7; with crucifixes, 8; market crosses, 8; statutes regarding crosses, 8; rune-inscribed high-crosses at Ruthwell and Bewcastle, 10; Aberdeen Act for demolition, St Andrews Act, 13; removal of, 13; Ruthwell Cross, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20; Ruthwell, a high-cross, 18; measurements by M'Farlan, Dods, Allen, Hewison, 28; Cross of Calvary, 31; cross and crucifix in Northumbria, 93–101; heights of high-crosses, 140 n. 1. Pl. II.
Crossgills, 40, 152, 173.
Crossgreens, 47.
Crozier, 1.
Crucifix, introduction in Scotland, 7; at Brechin, Malrube, St Fillans, Charlemagne's, 7; at Camuston, Highlands, etc., 8; acts for demolition, 13, 17; Crucifixion, 30; crucifix in Northumbria, 97–101, 171, 172.
Crucifixion, the, 30, 31, 96, 97, 99. Pl. XXV.
Cummings, Rev. J. G., 96.
Cupid and Psyche, *cf.* Archer, 110.
Cuthbert, St, 10, 11, 12, 27 n. 7, 42, 43, 48, 89, 92, 93, 94, 97, 111, 116, 118, 124, 136, 142, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 153. Pl. V.
Cuthbert, St, coffin of, 89, 91, 11, Pl. XXIX. cross, 94.
Cyneburg, Cyniburg, *cf.* Kuniburg.
"Cynewulf," the mysterious, 138, 167–169.

Dalton, O. M., 91.
Danes, 142, 169–172.
Daphne, 79.
Dates assignable to Runic Roods, 139–153.
David I., King, 12, 146, 147, 148.
Davidson, A. L., 172.
Didron, 97.
Dietrich, Francis, 19.
Dinwiddie, Rev. John L., 19 n. 4, 61 n. 2.
Dods, John W., 19 n. 5, 28.

Dream of the Holy Rood, 18, 30, 38, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 92, 100, 154–163, 167.
Duncan, Rev. Dr Henry, 17, 33, 39, 54. Pl. V.
Dunstan, St, 11, 100, 103, 121, 124, 137, 144, 145–153, 167. Pl. V.
Durham, 43, 118, 135.

Eadgar, King, 144.
Eadmund, King, 11, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149.
Eagle, 86, 104, 105, 106, 107.
Ealdfrith, *cf.* Aldfrith.
Ealhfrith, *cf.* Alcfrid.
Ecgfrith, 46, 65, 74.
Edenhall Church, 43.
Egypt, Egyptian art, gods, memorials, shrines, influence, 1, 30, 33, 34, 41, 42, 61, 77, 78, 79, 80, 84, 86, 87, 102, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133.
Elizabeth, 33.
Eros, *cf.* Archer.
Etschmiadzin Gospel-book, 90.
Eyre, Archbishop, 93.

Falconer and hawk, 41, 102.
Farrar, Canon, 98.
Finial, the, 34, 37.
Flight into Egypt, 34.
Frithestan, St, 49, 143 n. 3.

Gabriel, 31, 32.
Gatty, Mrs, 124.
Gibson, Bishop Edmund, 15, 22, 62, 66.
Glastonbury, 11, 85, 137, 144, 145, 149.
Good Shepherd, the, 1.
Gordon, Alexander, 15. Pl. VI.
Gough, 16, 23.
Green, J. R., 145, 146.
Greenwell, Canon, 94, 95 n. 2, 99, 127.

Hadrian's Wall, 91, 107, 108; *cf.* Roman Wall.
Haigh, Rev. Daniel H., 18, 26, 54, 66, 67, 68. Pl. XII.
Hawk and falconer, 102.
Healing the blind man, 32, 122.
Herbert, J. A., 89, 110, 133, 145.
Hewison, J. K., 79 n. 6.
Hexham, 11, 79, 82, 93, 95, 134, 135, 136.
Hibernian art and artists, 79, 80, 81, 87, 88, 131.
Hickes, George, 14. Pl. VIII.
High-crosses in Ireland, 92 n. 1.
Hodgkin, Dr, 68.
Hodgson, Rev. J., 108.
Holme Cultram, 109.
Holy Rood, 6.
Horus, 90, 106, 114, 132. Pl. XXV. fig. 3.
Howard, Henry, 24, 25, 62, 63. Pl. XI.
Howard, Lord William, 21.
Hutchinson, William, 24, 43, 63.

Iconography of Christ's life, 90, 92.
Inscriptions, the, 48–76, 69. Pl. XXII.
Italian cast-makers, 19 n. 5, 27 n. 8. Pl. XXIII.
Ivories, 82, 83, 91, 112.

Jackson, Sir T. G., 83.
Jaffray, Rev. Andrew, 15.
Jarrow, 82, 85, 134, 136.
Jedburgh, 85.
Jesse, the, 38.
John, St, *cf.* Baptist.
John, St, 34, 104.
Jones, Owen, 82 n. 2, 87.
Joseph, 34, 122.

Kells, Book of, 89, 134.
Kemble, 18, 25, 53, 54, 55, 64.
Kennedy, Dr C. W., 55, 60.
Kermode, Rev. P. M. C., 51.
Kirkcudbright, 43 n. 4.
Kuniburg, Kynburu (Rynburu), Kuniburuk, Kynnburug, Kynnburg, Cyniburug, Kynnbur(th)ug, Künnburug, Cyniburyg, Cynnburug, 23, 44, 63, 64, 65, 67, 69, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 151. Pl. XXIII.
Kyneswitha, 66.

Lacertine creatures, 44, 86.
Lamb, *cf. Agnus Dei.*
Langbar, 46, 47, 173. Pl. XXIII.
Lason, Rev. James, 13.
Latin-Saxon capitals, 30, 36, 48, 49, 50.
Lethaby, W. R., 20, 34, 49, 84 n. 1, 94, 96, 127, 150, 151.
Lindisfarne Gospels, The, 79, 80, 83, 106, 111 n. 1, 123, 124, 127, 129, 131, 133, 134.
Lundy, 32.
Lysons, Daniel and Samuel, 25, 41 n. 1, 43, 63, 64, 66. Pl. XI.

M'Farlan, Rev. James, 19, 54. Pl. V.
Magnusen, Professor Finn, 17.
Malcolm, King, 11, 142, 143.
Malmesbury, 11 n. 1.
Manuals for sculptors, 113.

Margaret, Queen, 6.
Marinus, Pope, 105.
Market crosses, 8.
Mary, the Virgin, 33, 34, 35, 43, 88, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123.
Maspero, 79 n. 5, 84, 132.
Matthew, St, 34, 37, 37 n. 2, 123.
Maughan, Rev. John, 26, 43, 44, 45, 46, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68. Pl. XII.
Maximian's throne, 123.
Measurements of Bewcastle Cross, 41, 47, 173; of Ruthwell Cross, 28, 39, 40, 173.
Melrose Abbey, 43, 117.
Menology of Basil II., 90, 117.
Merodach-Bel, 32, 104, 106, 108.
Mithra, Mithraic worship, cone, etc., 41, 81, 104, 105, 108, 111, 118.
Mitre, 116.
Montgomerie, Mr J. C., pref., 38, 39, 47 n. 1, 119.
Murray's Quire, 13, 14, 16.

Naitan, King, 82.
Nativity, 118.
Neilson, Dr George, 148, 164.
Nicolson, William, Archdeacon, Archbishop, 14, 22, 23, 43. Pl. V.
Nicolson and Burn, 24.
Nimbus, 31, 37.
Northmen, 142.
Northumbria, 77, 81, 82, 84, 86, 89, 93, 95, 127, 145, 152.
Northumbrian art, 127–138, 169–172.

Olaf Kuaran, 8, 11, 85, 107, 148.
Orbs, 101.
Oriental, *cf.* Egypt.
Orpheus, 1.
Oswald, St, 42, 43, 93, 116, 117.
Oswiu (Oswin), King, 26, 65, 70, 71.

Paul, St, 35, 90.
Penda, King, 70.
Pennant, *Tour*, 15.
Phœnix, the, 37, 105, 106, 107.
Plunkett, Count, 89.
Prior and Gardner, 79, 85 n. 5, 90, 91, 129.
Psyche, 33.

Rabula, 90.
Raine, 95 n. 1, 135 n. 4, 136 n. 4.
Ravenna, 92, 95.
Repp, T. G., 17.
Rivoira, G. T., 20, 80, 82, 95, 136, 150.
Roman Wall, 128; *cf.* Hadrian's Wall.
Rowan-tree, 86.
Runes, Anglo-Saxon, 25, 50–52, 64.
Runes, 52, 141. Pls. XXI., XXII.
Runes, size of, 29, 42.
Runes on Bewcastle Obelisk, 62–70, 151, 152. Pls. XI., XII., XXI., XXII.
Runic inscription on Ruthwell Cross, 17, 52–54, 55, 61.
Ruthwell, Cross in Parish Church of, 10; Professor Cook on, 12; tradition regarding, 12; emergence into history, 12; Acts for demolition, 13; Dr Archibald's account of, 13; Nicolson's description of, 14; descriptions by Gordon, 15, Jaffray, 15, Gough, 16, Craig, 16, Duncan, Repp, Magnusen, 17, Chalmers, 18, Kemble, 18, Wilson, 18, Haigh, 18, Stephens, 18, Stuart, 19, Vietor, 19, Dietrich, 19, M'Farlan, 19, Black, 19, Anderson and Allen, 20, Cook, 20; re-erection of Cross, and making of casts, 19 n. 5; visited by Nicolson, 14, Gordon, 15, Cardonnel, 16, Black, 19, Brown, Cook, 20; description of Cross, 28–40; Ruthwell, a high-cross, 28; measurements by M'Farlan, Dods, Allen, Hewison, 28, 29, Montgomerie, 39; panels, 30; colour of stone, 30 n. 2; Crucifixion scene, 31; Annunciation, 31; Christ healing blind man, 32; woman anointing Christ's feet, 32; Visitation, 33; archer—Eros, 33; the finial, 34; Nativity, 34; Flight into Egypt, 34; St Paul and St Anthony, 35; the preaching Christ, 35; the Baptist, 36; St Matthew and the angel, 37; the Phœnix, 37; the east side, 37; the west side, 38; wheel-head, 38; sandstone, 39; quarry at Crossgills, 40; weight, 40; Latin-Saxon letters, 48; Lethaby on capitals, 49; runes, 50–52; Runic inscription, 52–62; various readings, 53–58; Cædmon, 53; *Dream of the Rood*, 55 *et seq.*; Kemble's views, 57; Cook's conclusions, 59; sculpture. 77–92; geometric patterns—chequers, 78; interlaced patterns or knotwork, 79; foliaceous, 81–88; figure, 88–92; St Cuthbert's coffin, 89, 91; cross and crucifix in Northumbria, 93–101; date of cross, 96; date of crucifix, 97; symbols and doctrine, 93–126; the vine,

101; sacred birds, 104; archer, 107; the Christ, 111; anointing the Lord's feet, 114; the Baptist,114; the Nativity, 118; the Annunciation, 119; the Visitation, 120; shoes, 120; flight into Egypt, 121; healing the blind man, 122; St Matthew, 123; St Paul and St Anthony, 123; Lethaby's view, 127; Prior and Gardner's view, 129; influence of Egypt, 130; Northumbrian sculpture not in same category, 135; date assignable to the Cross, 139–153; opinions of various authorities, 139; reasons by author for assigning the Cross to the tenth century, 140, 141; possible connection with St Dunstan, 144; market cross, 148; recapitulation and conclusion, 151; *The Dream of the Rood*, 154–163. Pls. I., II., VI., VII., VIII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., XXIV.
Ruthwell, history of place-name, 164–166.
Ruthwell Parish Church, in Dumfriesshire, 10; dedicated to St Cuthbert, 10, 148; Murray's Quire, and broken cross in, 13, 14–20; visited by Nicolson, 14, Gordon, 15, Cardonnel, 16; Cross re-erected in, 19; visited by Black, Browne, Cook, 19, 20; first church, 148. Pl. III.
Rynburu, Ryeburu, *cf.* Kuniburg.

Sandals, 121.
Sandstone, Ruthwell, 39.
Sandstone, Bewcastle, 46, 47.
Sayce, Professor, 104 n. 2, 106, 131, 132.
Scrolls, 81–88.
Sculpture—figure, 80, 86, 88; foliaceous, 81, 87; geometric, 77; interlacing, knotwork, 79, 80.
Sculpture, Anglian and Anglo-Danish, 169–172.
Shoes, 120.
Sinclair, *Statistical Account* by, 16.
Smith, George, 23, 43, 62. Pls. IX., XI.
Spelman, Sir Henry, 21, 23.
Stephens, Professor George, 18, 27, 30, 37, 53.
Stokes, Miss, and Plunkett, 89, 91, 98.
Strzygowski, 98, 106.
Stuart, Dr John, 8, 19, 27, 53, 79.
Sun-dial, 45, 46, 79.
Sun-god, Osiris, 87, 104, 109 (Apollo).
Sun-worship, 5.
Swastika, 1, 2.
Sweet, Professor Henry, 58.
Symbols, 37 n. 2, 81, 86, 101, 107, 111 n. 2.
Symbols of Christ, 1, 109, 123, 152; *cf.* Cross, Crucifix, Crozier, Orpheus, Good Shepherd, Vine, Lamb, Agnus, Chi-Rho, Swastika.
Symbols of Evangelists, 37 n. 2.
Symeon, 136, 137, 148.
Syrian land, 37.

Tablet of Destiny, 32, 111.
Taylor, Canon Isaac, 68. Pl. XII.
Theodore, 91, 130.
Thompson, Sir E. M., 49.
Traditions regarding Ruthwell, 12, 14, 15.
Transom, the, 29, 33, 39.
Tree of life, 81, 101.
Trullan Council, 97.
Tuam, Cross of, 99 n. 1.
Twining, Miss L., 104, 111 n. 3, 116.

Weight of the Monuments, 173.
Wheel-cross, wheel-head, 38, 77, 132, 140, 171.
Wilfrith, St, 8, 11, 67, 82, 83, 91, 94, 131, 134, 135, 145.
William of Malmesbury, *cf.* Malmesbury.
Wilson, Dr Daniel, 18.
Wilson, Rev. Dr James, 21 n. 2.
Winchester, 145, 150.
Woman, the sinful, 32.
Worm, Dr Olaf, 21, 62.
Wulfhere, 66.
Wulfric, 102, 103, 149, 168.

Young, Rev. Gavin, 13.

Vercelli MS., *cf.* Codex Vercellensis.
Vestments, 31, 32, 33, 35.
Vietor, Wilhelm, 19, 26, 27, 54, 69. Pl. VIII.
Vines, 81–86, 100.
Visitation, 33, 120.

PRINTED BY NEILL AND CO., LTD., EDINBURGH.